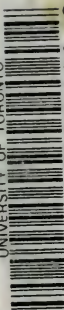
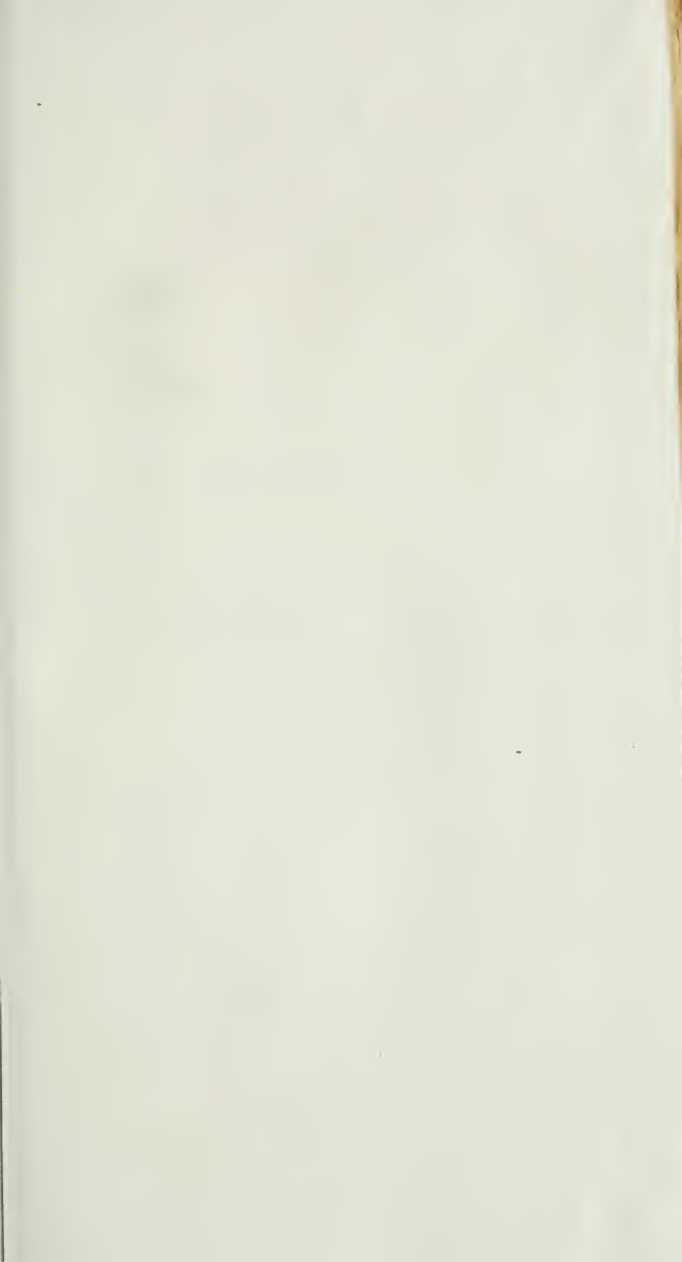


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THE
LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO.

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THE
LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

WITH REMARKS,
BY
WILLIAM MELMOTH, Esq.
IN FIVE VOLUMES.

CL 300

— *Quo fit ut omnis*
Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
Vita senis. — *HORAT.*

VOL. II.

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LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK THIRD.—CONTINUED.

LETTER XXVIII.

[A. U. 702.]

TO MARCUS CÆLIUS.*

COULD you seriously then imagine, my friend, that I commissioned you to send me the idle news of the town; matches of gladiators, adjournments of causes, robberies, and the rest of those uninteresting occurrences which no one ventures to mention

* This letter, as well as the preceding one, was written from Athens, and is an answer to the 25th of this Book.

to me, even when I am in the midst of them at Rome? Far other are the accounts which I expect from your hand, as I know not any man whose judgment in politics I have more reason to value. I should esteem it a misemployment of your talents, even were you to transmit to me those more important transactions that daily arise in the republic, unless they should happen to relate immediately to myself. There are other less penetrating politicians, who will send me intelligence of this sort, and I shall be abundantly supplied with it likewise by common fame. In short, it is not an account either of what has lately been transacted, or is in present agitation, that I require in your letters; I expect, as from one whose discernment is capable of looking far into futurity, your opinion of what is likely to happen. Thus, by seeing a plan, as it were, of the republic, I shall be enabled to judge what kind of structure will probably arise. Hitherto, however, I have no reason to charge you with having been negligent in communicating to me your prophetic conjectures. For the events which have lately happened in the commonwealth, were much beyond any man's penetration; I am sure, at least, they were beyond mine.

I passed several days with Pompey* in conversation upon public affairs; but it is neither prudent,

* See Vol. I. p. 291. note.

nor possible, to give you the particulars in a letter. In general, however, I will assure you, that he is animated with the most patriot sentiments,* and is prudently prepared, as well as resolutely determined, to act as the interest of the republic shall require. I would advise you, therefore, wholly to attach yourself to him; and, believe me, he will rejoice to embrace you as his friend. He now, indeed, entertains the same opinion both with you and myself, of the good and ill intentions of the different parties in the republic.

I have spent these last ten days at Athens; from whence I am this moment setting out. During my continuance in this city, I have frequently enjoyed the company of our friend Gallus Caninius.†

* Cicero so often changed his opinion, or, at least, his language, in regard to Pompey, that it is difficult to determine what his true sentiments of him were. It is probable, however, that he here speaks the dictates of his real thoughts, not only as he gives the same account to Atticus, but because Pompey received him with particular civility; a circumstance which seems at all times to have had a very considerable influence upon Cicero's judgment, concerning the characters and designs of men. *Vid. Ad Att. v. 6, 7.*

† It appears, by the fifth letter of the preceding Book, that when Pompey was exhibiting his entertainments at the opening of his celebrated theatre, Cicero was engaged in the defence of one Gallus Caninius. Manutius conjectures,

I recommend all my affairs to your care and protection, but particularly (what, indeed, is my principal concern) that my residence in the province may not be prolonged.* I will not prescribe the methods you should employ for that purpose, as you are the most competent judge by what means, and by whose intervention, it may be best effected. Farewell.

July the 6th.

that this is the same person, who, in consequence of that impeachment, was now, he supposes, an exile at Athens.

* The succession to the several provinces was usually annual. As Cicero entered upon his government much against his inclinations, he was extremely uneasy, lest, by any accidental circumstances of the republic, he should be continued in it beyond the expiration of his year. The province was a scene by no means suitable to his temper or talents; and he was impatient to return to the forum, and the senate, where he imagined he could shine with a much more advantageous lustre. His conduct, however, was in no part of his life so unquestionably laudable, as in his administration of Cilicia, as will appear, perhaps, from the remarks on the following Book. *Ad Att.* v. 10. 15.

LETTER XXIX.

[A. U. 702.]

MARCUS CÆLIUS* to CICERO.

YES, my friend, Messalla † is most certainly acquitted, and acquitted too, not only by a majority in the several orders, ‡ which compose the bench of judges, but by every individual member of each respective class. I give you this as a fact within my own knowledge, for I was present when their verdict

* It seems probable, from one of the epistles to Atticus, that Cicero received this letter at Gyarus, a little island in the Ægean sea, at which he touched in his voyage to Cilicia. *Ad Att.* v. 12.

† Marcus Valerius Messalla was consul in the year of Rome 700. The corrupt measures which he, as well as the rest of those who were joint-candidates with him, pursued, in order to secure their election, were so extravagantly profuse, as to occasion the interest of money to advance to double the usual rate. It was for those illegal practices, that he was this year brought upon his trial. *Ad Att.* iv. 15.

‡ The bench of judges, by a late regulation of Pompey, was composed of senators, knights, and certain officers always chosen from among the Plebeians, called *Tribuni ararii*, who, in modern language, might perhaps be styled auditors of the treasury. These judges (somewhat in the nature of our juries) were divided into three classes, agreeably to their respective orders, and gave their verdict by ballots.

was delivered. You must not imagine, however, that the world is convinced of his innocence; on the contrary, never was there an event more unexpected, or which raised so universal an indignation. For my own part, even with all my prejudices in his favour, I was under the utmost astonishment when I heard him pronounced not guilty; and, indeed, it was a circumstance I so little expected, that I was actually preparing to condole with him on the reverse. What must have been the surprise then of others, less biassed in his behalf! The whole assembly, in truth, warmly exclaimed against the judges, and very strongly intimated, that they looked upon them as guilty of the most insufferable corruption. My friend, in the mean time, is in much greater danger than he was before, as he will now most assuredly be indicted on the Licinian law.* I must not forget to add, that the day after his trial, his advocate Hortensius† appeared in Curio's theatre,‡ with a view, as

* The author of this law was M. Licinius Crassus, when he was consul with Pompey, an. urb. 698. It was called *de Sodalitiis*, by which seems to have been understood an unlawful making of parties at elections. See *Ken. R. Antiq.* p. 177.

† Hortensius was uncle to Messalla, and the only orator of this age whose eloquence stood in any degree of competition with Cicero's. See Let. 8. of Book vi. note.

‡ This theatre was erected by Curio on occasion of those

I suppose, of receiving the general congratulations. But he no sooner entered, than lo !

The hiss contemptuous, and indignant roar,
With thunder harsh the rending concave tore.

This circumstance is so much the more observable, as Hortensius has passed on to a good old age, without ever having before been thus insulted. But it broke out upon him with so much violence in the present instance, that it might well suffice for a whole life; as I am persuaded, indeed, it occasioned him heartily to repent of the victory he had obtained.

I have no political news to send you. Marcellus has dropped the design,* upon which he was lately so intent; but not so much from indolence, I believe, as prudence. It is wholly uncertain who will be our succeeding consuls. As to my own pursuits, there are two competitors with me for the *Ædileship*; the one really is, and the other would fain be thought, a man of quality. In short, Mar-

games which he exhibited in honour of his father's memory. See Vol. I. p. 252. note.

* *Cælius* in this instance was not so happy in his conjectures, as *Cicero* represents him in the foregoing letter. For *Marcellus* had not dropped the design to which *Cælius* here alludes; as appears, not only from the authority cited in Vol. I. p. 291. note, but also from one of his own subsequent epistles. See Let. 7. of Book iv.

cus Octavius,* and Caius Hirrus† are candidates with me for that office.‡ I mention this, as I know your contempt for the latter will raise your impa-

* No particular account can be given of the person here mentioned. It is certain, however, he was not the same Octavius who was father of Augustus Cæsar. For it appears by the epistles to Atticus, that the latter was governor of Macedonia long before the time when this letter was written; and consequently could not now be a candidate for the office of Ædile.

† Hirrus was a warm partizan of Pompey; but if Cicero, who was his declared enemy, may be credited, he was of a character more likely to prejudice than advance any cause he should espouse; for he represents him as an empty conceited coxcomb, who had the mortification to stand unrivalled in the good opinion he entertained of his own merit and importance. *O Dii!* (says he, speaking of Hirrus in a letter to his brother,) *O Dii! quam ineptus; quam se ipse amans sine rivali!* Yet a time came when Cicero did not scruple to court the friendship of this man, whom he so much affected to despise, and when he was making interest to obtain the honour of a triumph for his exploits in Cilicia, we find him applying to Atticus for his good offices, in order to close the breach between Hirrus and himself. Cicero seems, indeed, upon many occasions, to have recollected too late, that, in popular governments, a man who is not superior to the ambition and interests of the world, can scarcely make a contemptible enemy. *Ad Q. F. iii. 8. Ad Att. vii. 1.*

‡ The Ædiles were of two kinds, plebeian and curule; and it was the latter office that Cælius was at this time soliciting. They had the care of the temples, theatres, and

tience to be informed of the event of this election. I entreat you, as soon as you shall hear that I am chosen, to give proper directions about the panthers; * and, in the mean time, that you would endeavour to procure the sum of money which is due to me on the bond of Sittius.

I sent my first collection of domestic news by Lucius Castrinius Pætus, and I have given the subsequent part to the bearer of this letter. Farewell.

LETTER XXX.

[A. U. 702.]

FROM THE SAME.

OWN the truth, my friend: have I not verified what I could not persuade you to believe, when you left Rome, and written to you as frequently as I promised? I am sure, at least, if all my letters have reached your hands, you must acknowledge, that I

other public structures; they were the judges, likewise, in all causes relative to the selling or exchanging estates. *Rosin. Antiq.*

* It was customary for the Ædiles to entertain the people with public shows twice, during their office. The principal part of these entertainments consisted in combats of wild beasts of the most uncommon kind. *Manut.*

have been a more punctual correspondent than yourself. I am the more regular in my commerce of this kind, as it is the only method I have of amusing those few vacant hours I can steal from business, and which I used to take so much pleasure in passing with you. I greatly, indeed, lament your absence, and look upon it, not only as having reduced me, but all Rome in general, to a state of total solitude. When you were within my reach, I was careless enough to let whole days slip by me without seeing you; but, now you are absent, I am every moment regretting the loss of your company. Thanks to my noble competitor, Hirrus, for giving me an additional reason thus frequently to wish for you. It would afford you high diversion, in truth, to observe with what a ridiculous awkwardness this formidable rival of yours* endeavours to conceal his mortification, in finding that my interest in the approaching election† is much stronger than his own. Believe me, however, it is more for your gratification than mine, that I am desirous you may soon receive such an account of his success in this pursuit, as I know you wish. For, as to myself, his disappointment may possibly prove a means of

* Hirrus stood in competition with Cicero for the office of Augur, when the latter was chosen.

† See the preceding letter.

my being chosen in conjunction with a colleague, whose superior finances will draw me, I fear, into much inconvenient expence. But, however that may be, I shall rejoice if Hirrus should be thrown out, as it will supply us with an inexhaustible fund of mirth. And this appears likely enough to prove the case; for the disgust which the people have conceived against the other candidate, Marcus Octavius, does not seem to have any great effect in lessening their many objections to Hirrus.

As to what concerns the behaviour of Philotimus, in relation to Milo's estate,* I have endeavoured

* Milo having been sentenced to banishment, (See Vol. I. p. 272,) his estate was sold for the benefit of his creditors. Philotimus, a freedman of Cicero, bought this estate, in partnership with some others, at an undervalue. It was thought strange that Cicero should suffer Philotimus, who acted as a sort of steward in his family, to engage in a purchase of this kind, which was always looked upon as odious, and was particularly so in the present case: for Cicero had received great obligations from Milo. Accordingly the latter complained of it, in the letters he wrote to his friends at Rome. This alarmed Cicero for his reputation, and he seems to have written to Cœlius, as he did to several others of his correspondents, to accommodate this affair in the way that would be most to his honour. It was not easy, however, entirely to vindicate him upon this article: for though he pleaded in his justification an intent of serving Milo, yet it appears very evidently, from his letters to

that he shall act in such a manner as to give full satisfaction to Milo and his friends, and at the same time clear your character from all imputation.

And now I have a favour to beg in my turn: let me entreat you, when your leisure shall permit, (as I hope it soon will,) to give me an instance of your regard, by inscribing to me some of your literary performances. You will wonder, perhaps, at the oddness of this request; but I am very desirous, I confess, that posterity should see, among the many ingenious monuments you have erected to friendship, some memorial, likewise, of the amity which subsisted between us. You who possess the whole circle of science, will best judge what would be the most proper subject for this purpose; but I should be glad it might be of a kind that will take in the greatest number of readers, and at the same time bear a proper relation to my own studies and character.—Farewell.

Atticus upon this subject, that he shared with Philotimus in the advantages of the purchase. *Ascon. in orat. pro Milon. Ad Att. v. 8. vi. 4. 5.* See also *Mong. rem. sur les let. à Att. Vol. iii. p. 48.*

LETTER XXXI.

[A. U. 702.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

I ARRIVED at Tralles* on the 27th of July, where I found Lucilius waiting for me with your letter, which he delivered, together with your message. You could not have employed upon this occasion a more friendly hand, or one who is better qualified to give me light into those affairs concerning which I was so desirous of being informed. Accordingly I listened to his account with great attention, as I read your letter with much pleasure. I will not remind you of the numerous good offices which have passed between us; since that part of my last, you tell me, though extremely agreeable to you, was by no means necessary. I entirely agree with you, indeed, that a well-confirmed friendship needs not to be animated with any memorials of this nature.—You must allow me, however, to return those acknowledgments I so justly owe you, for the obliging precautions which I find, by your letter, you have taken, in order to ease me in the future functions of my government.—Highly acceptable to me

* A city in Asia Minor.

as these your generous services are, can I fail of being desirous to convince both you and the world that I am most warmly your friend? If there be any who pretend to doubt of this truth, it is rather because they wish it otherwise, than because it is not sufficiently evident. If they do not yet perceive it, however, they certainly shall: as we are neither of us so obscure, that our actions can pass unregarded: and the proofs I purpose to give, will be too conspicuous not to force themselves upon their observation.—But I will not indulge myself any farther on this subject, choosing to refer you to my actions, rather than my professions.

As I find the route I proposed to take has raised some doubt in you, whether you shall be able to give me a meeting, I think it necessary to explain that matter. In the conversation which I had with your freedman, Phantias, at Brundisium, I told him I would land in any part of the province that should be most convenient to you. Accordingly he mentioned Sida, as being the port, he said, where you intended to embark. It was my resolution, therefore, to have sailed thither; but meeting afterwards with our friend Clodius at Corcyra,* he dis-

* An island in the Ionian sea, at which Cicero touched in his voyage to Cilicia. It is now called *Corfou*, and belongs to the republic of Venice.

suaded me from that design; assuring me, that you would be at Laodicea on my arrival. I should have preferred the former, as being much the nearest port, and, indeed, the most agreeable to me, especially as I imagined it would be so to you. But you have since, it seems, altered your plan; and, therefore, you now can best settle the measures for our interview. As for myself, I propose to be at Laodicea* about the first of August, where I shall continue a few days, in order to get my bills exchanged. From thence I intend to go to the army; so that I hope to reach Iconium† towards the 13th of the same month. But if any accident should prevent or retard these designs, (as, indeed, I am at present far distant both from the places and the purposes of my destination,) I will take care to give you as frequent and as expeditious notice as possible of the several times and stages of my journey. I neither ought, nor, in truth, desire, to lay you under any difficulties: however, if it might be effected without inconvenience to yourself, it seems greatly for our mutual interest that we should have a conference before you leave the province.

* A city in Phrygia, situated on the river Lycus.

† A principal city in the province of Cilicia. It still subsists under the name of *Cogni*, and belongs to the Turkish dominions.

Nevertheless, if any disappointment should obstruct our interview, you may still rely upon my best services, and with the same security as if we had met. In the mean while, I shall forbear to enter upon the subject of our affairs by letter, till I despair of talking them over with you in person.

I spent the three days I continued at Ephesus,* with Scævola.† But though we entered very freely into conversation, he did not mention the least word of your having desired him to take upon himself the government of the province, during the interval between your leaving it and my arrival. I wish, however, it had been in his power (for I cannot persuade myself it was not in his inclination) to have complied with your request. Farewell.

LETTER XXXII.

[A. U. 702.]

MARCUS CÆLIUS TO CICERO.

You are certainly to be envied, who have every day some new wonder to enjoy: as your admira-

* A very celebrated city in Ionia, situated not far from Smyrna.

† He was probably either quæstor, or lieutenant, to Appius.

Brundisium, in what part of the province he imagined you chose I should receive the resignation of your government. He assured me it would be extremely agreeable to you if I landed at Sida.*

For this reason, notwithstanding I could not have made so splendid an entrance from that city, and it was inconvenient to me, likewise, upon many other accounts, yet I told him I would certainly comply with your inclinations. Sometime afterwards, I had a conference with your friend Clodius, at Corcyra, and I always consider myself as talking to you, whenever I am conversing with him. I repeated, therefore, the same promise I had given to Phantias, and assured him that I intended to pursue the route which the latter had marked out to me. Clodius made many acknowledgments upon this occasion in your name, but entreated me to change my design, and proceed directly to Laodicia. For it was your purpose, he said, to advance towards the maritime part of the province, in order to embark as soon as possible. He added, at the same time, that it was from your great desire to see me that you had deferred your departure; for, had any other person been your successor, you would not have waited his arrival. And this, indeed, corresponded with the letters I received from you at Rome, by which I perceived your great impa-

* A sea-port town of considerable note in Pamphylia.

tience to leave the province. I informed Clodius that I would comply with his request, and with much more willingness, I told him, than if I had been to have executed my first engagement with Phantias. I, therefore, changed my plan, and immediately gave you notice of it with my own hand; which, I find by your letter, you received in due time. When I reflect upon my conduct in this instance, I have the satisfaction to be assured, that it is perfectly consonant to the strictest friendship. And now let me desire you to consider your behaviour in return. You were so far then from waiting in that part of the province which would have given us the earliest opportunity of an interview, that you withdrew* to such a distance, as to render it impossible for me to reach you within the thirty days limited (if I mistake not) by the Cor-

* It was usual for the governors of provinces, when they entered upon their administration, to publish what they styled an *edict*; which was a kind of code or formulary of laws, by which they intended to proceed in the dispensation of justice. Cicero's institutes of this sort were founded upon maxims so extremely different from those by which Appius had regulated himself, that the latter looked upon them as so many indirect reflections upon his own unworthy conduct. And this seems to have been the occasion of his treating Cicero in the manner, of which he here, and in other subsequent letters, so much and so justly complains. *Ad Att. vi. 1.*

nelian law,* for your departure. This proceeding (to speak of it in the softest terms) must look with no friendly aspect in the eye of those who are unacquainted with our real sentiment towards each other; as it has the appearance of your industriously avoiding a conference. Whereas, mine, on the contrary, must undoubtedly be deemed conformable to whatever could be expected from the strongest and most intimate union.

In the letter I received from you before my arrival in the province, though you mentioned your design of going to Tarsus,† you still flattered me with hopes of a meeting. In the mean time, there are some who have the malice (for malice, I suppose, is their motive, as that vice, indeed, is widely diffused among mankind) to lay hold of this plausible pretence to alienate me from you, little aware that I am not easily shaken in my friendships. They assure me, that, when you had reason to believe I was arrived in the province, you held a court of judicature at Tarsus, and exercised such other acts of authority, as even those who

* This law was so called from its author, Cornelius Sylla, the dictator.

† The capital city of Cilicia. . It is celebrated by Strabo, for having once vied with Athens and Alexandria in polite and philosophical literature; but it is far more worthy of notice as being the birth-place of that great apostle of the Gentiles, St. Paul.

have yet some little time unexpired in their ministry, do not usually choose to discharge. Their insinuations, nevertheless, are far from making any impression upon me. On the contrary, I rather consider you as having kindly eased me of part of my approaching trouble; and I rejoice that you have thus abridged me of one fatiguing month out of the twelve I must pass through in my government. To speak freely, however, there is a circumstance that gives me concern; and I cannot but regret to find, that, out of the small number of forces in the province, there are no less than three complete cohorts wanting, and I know not in what part they are dispersed. But my principal uneasiness is, that I cannot learn where I shall see you; and I should have sooner told you so, if I had not concluded, from your total silence, both as to what you were doing, and where you proposed to give me an interview, that I might daily expect your arrival. I have, therefore, dispatched my brave and worthy friend Antonius, præfect of the Evocati,* with this letter; and, if you think proper, you may deliver up to him the command of the troops, that I may be able to enter upon some action ere the season is

* These were troops composed of experienced soldiers, who had served out their legal time, or had received their dismissal as a reward of their valour. They usually guarded the chief standard, and were excused from the more servile employments of the military functions.

too far advanced. I had reason to hope, both from our friendship and your letters, to have had the benefit of your advice upon this occasion; and, indeed, I will not even yet despair of enjoying that advantage. However, unless you give me notice, it is impossible I should discover either when or where I am to have that satisfaction. In the mean while, I shall endeavour to convince even the most uncandid, as well as the equitable part of the world, that I am sincerely your friend. I cannot forbear saying, nevertheless, that those who are not disposed to judge in the most favourable manner, have some little cause to imagine that you do not bear the same amicable disposition towards me, and I shall be much obliged to you for endeavouring to remove their suspicions.

That you may not be at a loss what measures to take in order to our meeting consistently* with the terms of the Cornelian law, I think it necessary to inform you, that I arrived in the province on the last day of July; that I marched from Iconium on the 31st of August, and am now advancing to Cilicia by the way of Cappadocia. After having thus

* It appears, by what follows, that this time was already elapsed. Mr Ross was aware of this difficulty, and has solved it by supposing, that Cicero "must mean some place *without* the limits of the province." For otherwise Cicero's request cannot be reconciled, that commentator observes, to the terms of the Cornelian law.

traced out my route, you will let me know, in case you should think proper to meet me, what time and place will be most convenient to you for that purpose. Farewell.

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 702.]

TO MARCUS CATO. *

I THOUGHT it agreeable to our friendship to communicate to you the intelligence I have lately received. I am to inform you, then, that envoys from Antiochus king of Commagene, † arrived in my camp at Iconium, on the 30th of August. They brought me advice, that the king of Parthia's son, who is married, it seems, to a sister of the king of Armenia, was advanced to the banks of the Euphrates; that he was at the head of a very considerable army, composed of his own nation, together with a large body of foreign auxiliaries; that he had actually begun to transport his troops over the river; and that it was reported the king of Armenia had a design to invade Cappadocia. I

* Some account will be given of this great and celebrated patriot, in the notes on the first letter of the following Book.

† Commagene was a part of Syria, not subjected to the Roman dominion.

have forborne to acquaint the senate with this news, for two reasons. The first is, because the Comma-genian envoys assured me, that Antiochus had immediately dispatched an express to Rome with this account; and, in the next place, knowing that the proconsul Marcus Bibulus* had sailed from Ephesus with a favourable wind about the 13th of August, I imagined he had by this time reached his province, and would be able to give the senate a more certain and particular intelligence.

As to my own situation, with respect to this important war, it is my utmost endeavour to find that security, from the clemency of my administration, and the fidelity of our allies, which I can scarce expect from the strength and number of my troops. I have only to add my entreaties, that you would continue, as usual, to favour me with your friendly offices in my absence. Farewell.

LETTER V.

[A. U. 702.]

TO THERMUS, PROPÆTOR.

CLUVIUS PUTEOLANUS distinguishes me, upon all occasions, with the highest marks of esteem; in-

* Proconsul of Syria.

deed, we are united in the strictest bands of amity. He has some affairs in your province, and, unless he should be able by my means to settle them during your administration, he looks upon them as utterly desperate. This task my very obliging friend having assigned to my care, I take the liberty (in confidence of that most amicable disposition you have ever discovered towards me) of transferring it to yours; with this restriction, nevertheless, that it do not engage you in too much trouble. I am to inform you, then, that the corporations of Mylata and Alabanda* are respectively indebted to Cluvius; and that Euthydemus assured me, when I saw him at Ephesus, he would take care that Syndics† should be sent to Rome from the former, in order to adjust the matters in controversy between them. This, however, has not been performed; on the contrary, I hear they have commissioned deputies to negotiate this affair in their stead. But Syndics are the proper persons, and therefore I entreat you to command these cities to dispatch those officers to Rome, that this question may be soon and finally determined. I am farther to acquaint you, that Philotes of Alabanda has assigned certain

* Two cities of Caria, in Asia Minor.

† These officers were a kind of solicitors to the treasury of their respective corporations.

effects to Cluvius by a bill of sale. But the time for payment of the money, for which they are a security, being elapsed, I beg you would compel him either to discharge the debt, or to deliver the goods to the agents of Cluvius. My friend has likewise some demands of the same kind upon the cities of Heraclea and Bargylos.* I beseech you, therefore, either to procure him satisfaction, by an immediate payment, or to oblige them to put him in possession of a proportionable part of their demesnes. The corporation of Caunus† is also indebted to Cluvius; but they insist, that, as the money has been ready for him, and actually lodged in the temple for that purpose, he is not entitled to any interest beyond the time the principal was so deposited.‡ I en-

* In Caria.

† This city was likewise in Caria.

‡ This passage is rendered in a sense very different from that in which all the commentators have understood it. They take the expression, *aiunt se pecuniam depositam habuisse*, to mean, that the Caunians pretended the money in dispute was a deposit; and, therefore, that they were not liable to pay interest. But, if we suppose the question between the Caunians and Cluvius to have been, whether the sum he demanded was or was not a deposit, the request which Cicero afterwards makes must be highly unjust: *si intellexcris eos neque ex edicto neque ex decreto depositam habuisse, des operam ut usuræ Cluvio conserventur*. For, if

treat the favour of you to inquire into the truth of the fact; and if it shall appear, that the sum in question was not paid into the sacred treasury, ei-

they were merely trustees, it could make no equitable difference whether the money came to them by a judicial decree, or from a private hand; and, in either case, it must have been equally oppressive to oblige them to pay interest. Now, this difficulty will be entirely removed, by supposing that the expression *depositam habuisse* is periphrastical, and to be resolved into *deposuisse*. And this is agreeable to the idiom of the Latin language, as well as to the manner in which Cicero expresses himself upon other occasions. Thus, in his treatise *De clar. orat.* 147. *habere cognitum Scævolum*, is equivalent to *cognoscere*; as in Plautus, *vobis hanc habeo edictionem*, is the same as *edico*. Pseud. i. ii. 39. But, if *pecuniam depositam habuisse*, is a circumlocution for *deposuisse*, some substantive must be understood to complete the sense; and, accordingly, a passage in the letters to Atticus will not only point out the word required, but prove likewise that *depono* is used in this elliptical manner. Cicero, giving an account to Atticus of a transaction relating to the claim of a debt due from the city of Salamis, in Cyprus, tells him, that *deponere volebant*. *Ad Att.* vi. 1.; which, in another letter, where he is speaking of the very same affair, he expresses, at full length, *ut in fano deponerent postulantibus*, says he, *non concessi*. *Ad Att.* v. 21. And the last-cited passages will not only justify, but explain the sense contended for; as they prove, that it was usual, where any controversy arose concerning the quantum of a debt, for the defendant to apply for leave to

ther in conformity to the general edict,* or special decree of the prætor, to direct that Cluvius may have such a rate of interest allowed him, as is agreeable to the laws you have established in these cases.

I enter with so much the more warmth into these affairs, as my friend Pompey likewise makes them his own; and indeed seems more solicitous for their success than even Cluvius himself. As I am extremely desirous, that the latter should have reason to be satisfied with my good offices, I most earnestly request yours upon this occasion. Farewell.

pay the money into some temple; from which time it no longer carried interest. Thus Cicero tells Atticus, that the interest upon the debt due from the city of Salamis ought to have ceased, *consistere usura debuit*; and assigns this reason for it, *deponere volebant*: they were ready and desirous to have lodged it in the sacred treasury. But, in the case of Cluvius, if the Caunians had paid in the money without giving him notice, (which might very possibly have been the fact, if they had not acted under a judicial order,) it was no unreasonable request to desire they might be compelled to pay the whole interest up to the time when Cluvius should receive the principal.

* By the term *edict*, is meant, in this place, that formulary of provincial laws explained in p. 52. note.

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 702.]

TO THE CONSULS, THE PRÆTORS, THE TRIBUNES OF
THE PEOPLE, AND THE SENATE.

THE first intelligence I received, that the Parthians had passed the greatest part of their army over the Euphrates, was extremely positive. However, as I imagined the proconsul, Marcus Bibulus, could give you a more certain account of this event, I did not think it necessary to charge myself with the relation of what more immediately concerned the province of another. But, since my last dispatch, I have been farther, and more satisfactorily, assured of this fact, by several expresses and deputations that have been sent to me for that purpose. When I consider, therefore, the great importance of this news to the republic; that it is uncertain, likewise, whether Bibulus is yet arrived in Syria; and that I am almost equally concerned with him in the conduct of this war; I deem myself obliged to communicate to you the purport of my several informations.

The first advice I received, was from the ambassadors of Antiochus king of Commagene; who acquainted me, that the Parthians had actually be-

LETTER II.

[A. U. 702.]

TO THERMUS, PROPÆTOR.*

LUCIUS GENUCILIUS CURVUS has been long in the number of my most intimate friends; and indeed no man possesses a worthier or more grateful heart. I recommend him, therefore, most warmly and entirely to your protection; beseeching you to assist him upon every occasion that shall not be inconsistent with your honour and dignity. This is a restriction, however, which I might well have spared; as I am sure he will never make you a request unworthy either of your character or his own. But I must particularly entreat your favour in relation to his affairs in Hellespontus. In the first place, then, I beg you would confirm the grant of certain lands which was made to him by the city of Pari-

* Quintus Minucius Thermus was prætor in the year of Rome 701. At the expiration of his office, he was appointed proprætor, or governor of that part of the Asiatic continent, styled *Asia Proper*; which included Lydia, Ionia, Caria, Mysia, and part of Phrygia. Cicero speaks of him in a letter to Atticus, as exercising his administration with great integrity. *Ad Att.* vi. 1.

on,* and which he has hitherto enjoyed without molestation; in the next place, that if any inhabitant of Hellespontus should controvert his rights of this kind, you would direct the cause to be heard in that district. But, after having already assigned him wholly to your patronage, it is unnecessary to point out particular articles wherein I request your good offices. To say all then in one word, be assured I shall consider every instance wherein you shall advance either his honour or his interest, as so many immediate favours conferred upon myself. Farewell.

LETTER III.

[A. U. 702.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

THOUGH I am by no means disposed to be more favourable to myself than to you, in judging of the part we have respectively acted towards each other; yet, when I reflect on our late mutual behaviour, I have far greater reason to be satisfied with my own conduct than with yours. As I knew the high rank which Phantias justly possesses in your confidence and esteem, I enquired of him when we met at

* A city in Hellespont.

tion receives constant supplies in the accounts of those strange events that happen amongst us. Thus, with what astonishment will you hear that Messalla,* after having been acquitted of his first impeachment, was condemned on a second; that Marcellus† is chosen consul; that Calidius,‡ after hav-

* He was cousin to the present consul, Marcus Marcellus. The reader will find an account of him in the farther progress of these remarks.

† In the text he is called Marcus Claudius; but Manutius and Corradus both agree in the reading here adopted, which is likewise confirmed by Pighius. He was competitor for the consulate with Marcellus, mentioned in the preceding note. The wonder, therefore, in these two instances, was, (as Mr Ross observes,) that Marcellus should be chosen consul, who was an avowed enemy to Cæsar; while Calidius, though supported by the Cæsarian party, lost his election.

‡ Calidius was one of the most agreeable orators of his age, as Cicero, who has drawn his character at large, informs us. His sentiments were conceived with uncommon delicacy, as they were delivered in the most correct, perspicuous, and elegant expression. His words were so happily combined together, and accorded with each other in such a well-adjusted arrangement, that Cicero, by a very strong image, compares his style to a piece of beautiful inlaid work. His metaphors were so justly imagined, and so properly introduced, that they rather seemed to arise spontaneously out of his subject, than to have been transplanted from a foreign soil. His periods, at the same time, were exquisitely musical. They did not, however, lull the

ing lost his election, was immediately impeached by the two Galli; and that Dolabella* is appointed one of the Quindecimvirs! † In one article, however, you are a loser by your absence; as it deprived you of a most diverting spectacle in the rueful countenance which Lentulus‡ exhibited, when he found himself disappointed of his election. It was an event for which he was so little prepared, that he entered the field in all the gay confidence of victory; whilst his competitor Dolabella, on the contrary, was so diffident of success, that if our friends of the equestrian order had not been too

ear with one uniform cadence; but were artfully diversified with all the various modulations of the most skilful harmony. In short, if to instruct and to please had been the single excellencies of an orator, Calidius would have merited the first rank in the Roman Forum. But he forgot, that the principal business of his profession was to animate and to inflame. *Cic de clar. orat.* 274.

* A particular account will be given of him in the notes on the following Book.

† They were the presiding magistrates at the Apollinarian and secular games, and entrusted likewise with the care of the Sibylline oracles. See *Mr Ross* on this epistle.

‡ There is some variation amongst the MSS. in the reading of this name. The best commentators, however, suppose, that this person is the same who was advanced to the consulship two years after the date of this letter; that is, in the year of Rome 704. It appears he was a competitor with Dolabella for the office of Quindecimvir.

wise to have suffered him, he would have tamely retreated without the least contest. But as much disposed as you may be to wonder at our transactions, you will not be surprised, I dare say, when I inform you, that Servius, the Tribune elect, has been tried and convicted; and that Curio* is a candidate to succeed him. This last circumstance greatly alarms those who are unacquainted with the real good qualities of Curio's heart. I hope, and indeed believe, he will act agreeably to his professions, and join with the senate in supporting the friends of the republic. I am sure, at least, he is full of these designs at present; in which Cæsar's conduct has been the principal occasion of engaging him: For Cæsar, though he spares no pains or expence to gain over even the lowest of the people to his interest,† has thought fit to treat Curio with singular contempt. The latter has behaved with so much temper upon this occasion, that he, who never acted with arti-

* See Vol. I. p. 231. note.

† The account which Dion Cassius gives of Cæsar, exactly corresponds with what Cælius here asserts. For it appears, from this historian, that Cæsar, when he could not, by direct means, secure the master in his interest, insinuated himself, by proper applications, into the good graces of the favourite slave: and, by condescensions of this political kind, he gained over many persons of principal rank in Rome. *Dion*, xl. p. 149.

fice in all his life,* is suspected to have dissembled his resentment, in order, the more effectually, to defeat the schemes of those who oppose his election: I mean the Lælii and the Antonii, together with the rest of that wonderful party.

I have been so much engaged by the difficulties which have retarded the several elections, that I could not find leisure to write to you sooner; and, indeed, as I every day expected they would be determined, I waited their conclusion, that I might give you, at once, an account of the whole. But it is now the first of August, and they are not yet over; the elections of prætors having met with some unexpected delays. As to that in which I am candidate, I can give you no account which way it is likely to be decided; only it is generally thought that Hirrus will not be chosen. This is collected

* If Curio did not act with artifice in the present instance, (of which, however, there is great reason to doubt,) it is certain, at least, that he was far from being so incapable of assuming that character, as Cœlius here represents him. On the contrary, it appears, by the concurrent testimony of the ancient historians, that he secretly favoured the cause of Cæsar, long before he avowed his party. And Dion Cassius, in particular, assures us, that Curio, at the same time that he pretended to act in concert with the enemies of Cæsar, was only gaining their confidence, in order to betray them. *Vel Paterc.* ii. 48. *Dio*, xl. p. 149.

from the fate that has attended Vinicianus, who was a candidate for the office of Plebeian *Ædile*.^{*} That foolish project of his for the nomination of a dictator,[†] (which we formerly, you may remember, exposed to so much ridicule,) suddenly turned the election against him; and the people expressed the loudest acclamations of joy at his repulse. At the same time, Hirrus was universally called upon by the populace to give up his pretensions at the ensuing election. I hope, therefore, you will very soon hear, that this affair is determined in the manner you wish with respect to me, and which you

* The Plebeian *Ædiles* were chosen out of the commons; and were, in some respects, a sort of coadjutors to the Tribunes.

† The dictator was a magistrate invested with supreme and absolute power; but was never created unless on emergencies of great and sudden danger, which required the exertion of an extraordinary authority. Accordingly, it was on occasion of the disturbances that happened at Rome in the year 700, (See p. 271. and p. 278, of Vol. I.) that some of the friends and flatterers of Pompey proposed him for this office. Vinicianus and Hirrus were the principal promoters of this scheme; but it was so unacceptable to the people in general, that this single circumstance, it appears, turned the election against the former; and, probably, was the chief reason that the latter was likewise disappointed of the *Ædileship*. See Let. 29. of this Book, p. 7. *Ad. Q. F. iii. 8.*

scarce dare promise yourself,* I know, with regard to Hirrus.

As to the state of the commonwealth, we begin to give up all expectation that the face of public affairs will be changed. However, at a meeting of the senate, holden on the 22d of the last month, in the temple of Apollo, upon a debate relating to the payment of the forces^c commanded by Pompey,† mention was made of that legion, which, as appeared by his accounts, had been lent to Cæsar; and he was asked, of what number of men it consisted, and for what purposes it was borrowed. In short, Pompey was pushed so strongly upon this article, that he found himself under a necessity of promising to recal this legion out of Gaul: but he added, at the same time, that the clamours of his enemies should not force him to take this step too precipitately. It was afterwards moved, that the question might be put concerning the election of a successor to Cæsar. Accordingly the senate came to a resolution, that Pompey (who was just going to the army

* Because Hirrus was supported by Pompey.

† Pompey, though he remained in Rome, was at this time governor of Spain; which had been continued to him for four years at the end of his late consulship. It was the payment of his troops in that province, which was under the consideration of the senate. *Plut. in vit. Pomp.*

at Ariminum,* and is now actually set out for that purpose) should be ordered to return to Rome with all expedition, that the affair, relating to a general election of new governors for all the provinces, might be debated in his presence. This point, I imagine, will be brought before the senate on the 13th of this month; when, if no infamous obstacles should be thrown in the way by the tribunes,† the house will certainly come to some resolution. For Pompey, in the course of the debate, let fall an intimation, that he “thought every man owed obedience to the authority of that assembly.” However, I am impatient to hear what Paulus, the senior consul elect, will say when he delivers his opinion upon this question.

I repeat my former request in relation to the

* Now called Rimini, situated upon the Rubicon; a river which divided Italy from that part of the Roman province called Cisalpine Gaul. The army here mentioned, is supposed to be part of those four legions which were decreed to Pompey for the support of his government in Spain. *Vid. Plut. ibid.*

† Some of the tribunes, together with Sulpicius, one of the present consuls, were wholly in Cæsar’s interest.—They thought, or pretended to think, that it was highly unjust to divest Cæsar of his government, before the time was completed for which it had been decreed; and of which there now remained about two years unexpired. *Dio, xl. p. 148.*

money due to me on the bond of Sittius; and I do so, that you may see it is an article in which I am greatly interested. I must again, likewise, entreat you to employ the Cybiratæ,* in order to procure me some panthers. I have only to add, that we have received certain accounts of the death of Ptolemy.† Let me know, therefore, what measures you would advise me to take upon this occasion; in what condition he has left his kingdom; and in whose hands the administration is placed. Farewell.

August the first.

* “Cibyra was a city of Phrygia Major, situated upon the banks of the river Meander, and gave name to one of the three Asiatic dioceses, which were under the jurisdiction of the governor of Cilicia.” Mr *Ross*.

† Ptolemy Auletes; of whom an account has been given in the notes on the First Book. By the following inquiries which Cœlius makes, it is probable, he was one of those who had lent money to that king when he was at Rome, soliciting the senate to assist him with troops for the recovery of his dominions. See Vol. I. p. 55. note.

LETTER XXXIII.

[A. U. 702.]

FROM THE SAME.

How far you may be alarmed at the invasion* which threatens your province, and the neighbouring countries, I know not; but for myself, I confess, I am extremely anxious for the consequence. Could we contrive, indeed, that the enemy's forces should be only in proportion to the number of yours, and just sufficient to entitle you to the honour of a triumph,† there could not be a more desirable circumstance. But the misfortune is, if the

* The Parthians, having lately obtained a most signal victory over Crassus, (an account of whose unfortunate expedition has already been given in the course of these notes,) were preparing to make an incursion in the Roman provinces that lay contiguous to their dominions.—Accordingly they soon afterwards executed this design, by invading Syria and Cilicia; as will be related at large in the letters of the following Book.

The kingdom of Parthia is now included in the empire of Persia; of which it makes a very considerable province.

† No general could legally claim this honour, unless he had destroyed 5000 of the enemy in one engagement. *Val. Max.* ii. 8.

Parthians should make any attempt, I well know it will be a very powerful one; and I am sensible, at the same time, that you are so little in a condition to oppose their march, that you have scarce troops to defend a single defile. But the world, in general, will not be so reasonable as to make the proper allowances for this circumstance. On the contrary, it is expected from a man in your station, that he should be prepared for every occurrence that may arise, without once considering whether he is furnished with the necessary supplies for that purpose. I am still the more uneasy upon your account, as I foresee the contests concerning affairs in Gaul will retard the nomination of your successor; and though I dare say you have already had this contingency in your view, yet I thought proper to apprise you of its probability, that you might be so much the more early in adjusting your measures accordingly. I need not tell you, that the usual artifices will undoubtedly be played off. A day will be appointed for considering of a successor to Cæsar: upon which some tribune* will interpose his negative; and then a second will probably declare, that unless the senate shall be at liberty to put the question freely, concerning all the provinces in general, he will not suffer it to be debated with regard to any in parti-

* See note on the foregoing letter, p. 23.

cular. And thus we shall be trifled with for a considerable time; possibly, indeed, two or three years may be spun out by these contemptible artifices.

If any thing new had occurred in public affairs, I should, as usual, have sent you the account, together with my sentiments thereupon; but, at present, the wheels of our political machine seem to be altogether motionless. Marcellus is still pursuing his former designs concerning the provinces; but he has not yet been able to assemble a competent number of senators. Had* this motion been brought on the preceding year, and had Curio at the same time been tribune, *it would, probably, have succeeded*; but as affairs are now circumstanced, you are sensible how easy it will be for Cæsar, regardless as he is of the public interest, when it stands in competition with his own, to obstruct all our proceedings. Farewell.

* There is an obscurity in the original, which the commentators have endeavoured to dissipate by various readings. None of their conjectures, however, appear so much to the purpose as that of an ingenious gentleman, to whose animadversions I have already acknowledged myself indebted. See Vol. I. p. 212. note. My judicious friend supposes, that some words of the same import with those which are distinguished by Italics in the translation, have been omitted by the carelessness of transcribers; a supposition extremely probable, and which solves the principal difficulty of the text.

LETTER XXXIV.

[A. U. 702.]

FROM THE SAME.

WILL you not be surprised when I tell you of the victory I have gained over Hirrus? * But if you knew how easy a conquest he proved, you would blush to think, that so powerless a competitor once ventured to stand forth as your rival. † His behaviour, since this repulse, affords us much diversion; as he now affects, upon all occasions, to act the patriot, and vote against Cæsar. Accordingly, he insists upon Cæsar's being immediately recalled; and most unmercifully inveighs against the conduct of Curio. In a word, as little conversant as he is in the business of the Forum, he is now become an *advocate* professed; and most magnanimously pleads the cause of liberty. ‡ You are to observe, however, that it is only in a morning he is seized with these violent fits of patriotism; for he is generally

* At the election for curule *Ædiles*. See Let. 29. of this Book.

† As a candidate with Cicero for the office of Augur.

‡ Instead of *agit causas liberalis*, as in the common editions, I read, with Gronovius, *agit causam libertatis*.

much too elevated in an afternoon to descend into so grave a character.

I mentioned, in one of my former, that the affair of the provinces would come before the senate on the 13th of the last month; nevertheless, by the intervention of Marcellus, the consul elect, it was put off to the first of this instant. But when the day arrived, they could not procure a sufficient number of senators to be present. It is now the second of September, and nothing has yet been done in this business; and, I am persuaded, it will be adjourned to the following year. As far as I can foresee, therefore, you must be contented to leave the administration of your province in the hands of some person, whom you shall think proper to appoint for that purpose; as I am well convinced you will not soon be relieved by a successor; for, as Gaul must take the same fate with the rest of the provinces, any attempt that shall be made for settling the general succession, will certainly be obstructed by Cæsar's party. Of this I have not the least doubt; and, therefore, I thought it necessary to give you notice, that you may be prepared to act accordingly.

I believe I have reminded you of the panthers in almost every one of my letters; and surely you will not suffer Patiscus to be more liberal in this article than yourself. He has made Curio a pre-

sent of no less than half a score; great, therefore, will be your disgrace, if you should not send me a much larger number. In the mean time, Curio has given me those he received from Patiscus, together with as many more from Africa; for, you are to know, it is not only in granting away the lands of the* public, that the generous Curio displays his liberality. As to yourself, if you can but charge your memory with my request, you may easily procure me as many of these animals as you please; it is only sending for some of the *Cybiratæ* to hunt them, and issuing forth your orders, likewise, into Pamphylia; where, I am told, they are taken in great abundance. I am the more solicitous upon this article, as I believe my colleague and I shall exhibit our games separately; so that the whole preparation for them must lie singly upon myself. I know you love ease as well as I do; but I should be glad if you could by any means prevail with yourself to part with a little of it upon the present occasion. In good earnest, you will have no other trouble, than merely to give your commands; as my people, whom I have sent into your province, in order to recover the money due to me from Sit-

* This seems to allude to some attempts which Curio had lately made to revive the Agrarian law. See Vol. I. p. 176. note.

tius, will be ready to receive the panthers, and convey them into Italy. It is probable, likewise, if you should give me any hopes of succeeding in my request, that I may send a reinforcement to assist them.

I recommend Marcus Feridius, a Roman knight, to your protection and friendship, who comes into Cilicia to transact some business relating to his private affairs. He is a young man of great worth and spirit; and his father is my very particular friend. He holds an estate under certain cities in your government, of which he is desirous to procure the enfranchisement; and, I am persuaded, he may easily obtain his point, by the intervention of your good offices. Your employing them, upon this occasion, will indeed be doing an honour to yourself; as it will oblige two men of great merit, who, I will venture to assure you, are not capable of proving ungrateful.

You were mistaken when you imagined that Favonius* was opposed by the more contemptible part of the people; on the contrary, it was all the

* He was a great admirer and imitator of the virtues and manners of Cato; as he was also in the number of those who assassinated Cæsar. Manutius conjectures that he was at this time chosen prætor.—*Plut. in vit. Pomp. Dio*, xlvii. p. 356.

better sort that voted against him. Your friend Pompey openly declares, that Cæsar ought not to be admitted as a candidate for the consulship, while he retains his command in the province.* He voted, however, against passing a decree for this purpose at present. Scipio† moved, that the

* Pompey, who contributed more than any man to the advancement of Cæsar's power, had lately procured a law, by which the personal appearance of the latter was dispensed with in soliciting the consular office. But Pompey now began to repent of a concession so entirely unconstitutional; not that his own designs were more favourable to the liberties of Rome than those of Cæsar, but as discovering at last that they could not both subsist together. His present opposition, however, was as impotent as his former compliances were impolitic; and only tended to bring on so much the sooner his own destruction, together with that of the republic.—*Vid. ad Att. viii. 3.*

† Metellus Scipio: he was chosen consul by Pompey the latter end of the last year, agreeably to a power with which he was invested by the senate, for nominating his colleague. Pompey likewise married his daughter, the amiable Cornelia; who added to the charms of her person every moral and intellectual qualification that could render her the most estimable and accomplished of her sex. And yet, with all these extraordinary endowments, she was still more distinguished by that singular modesty and humility with which they were accompanied. It is Plutarch who gives her this character; upon which Monsieur Dacier remarks, *Je dois être plus persuadé qu'un autre, que l'éloge que Plutarque donne à Cornélie, peut n'être point flatté.*

first of March next might be appointed for taking into consideration the nominating a successor in the Gallic provinces; and that this matter should be proposed to the house separately, and without blending it with any other question. Balbus Cornelius* was much discomposed at this motion; and, I am well assured, he has complained of it to Scipio in very strong terms.

Canidius defended himself upon his trial with much eloquence; but, in the impeachment which he afterwards exhibited, he supported his charge with little force or spirit. Farewell.

J'ai un exemple domestique, qui prouve que beaucoup d'esprit et de savoir, et de grands talens peuvent se trouver dans une femme, et être accompagnés d'une modestie aussi grande et plus estimable encore que ses talens. May I add my suffrage to that of this celebrated critic, by declaring from the same domestic experience, that uncommon knowledge and a superior understanding are perfectly consistent with those more valuable qualities of the heart, which constitute the principal grace and ornament of the female character.—*Plut. in vit. Pomp. Les vies de Plut. par Dac. vol. v. p. 498. rem. 89.*

* He was inviolably attached to Cæsar, and seems to have been the principal manager of his affairs at Rome.

LETTER XXXV.

[A. U. 702.]

TO MARCUS MARCELLUS,* CONSUL.

I VERY warmly congratulate you on your relation Caius Marcellus being elected to succeed you; as I sincerely rejoice in your having received this happy fruit of your pious affection to your family,

* He was distinguished by a long line of ancestors, who had borne the most honourable offices in the republic; as he himself was advanced to the consular dignity this year, in conjunction with Servius Sulpicius Rufus. It is mentioned, to the credit of both these illustrious magistrates, that they were chosen without having employed those corrupt and violent measures, which were at this period so generally practised; and Marcellus, in particular, had recommended himself to the people by the superior grace and energy of his eloquence. It has already been observed in these notes, that he was extremely zealous in promoting the decree by which Cæsar was recalled from his province, and which forwarded the flames of that unhappy civil war, which soon afterwards broke out to the destruction of the commonwealth. Upon that occasion Marcellus took the part of Pompey. But, after the battle of Pharsalia, he threw down his arms, and withdrew to Mitylenæ, the capital of Lesbos, where he purposed to devote the remainder of his days to a philosophical retirement. But being per-

of your patriot zeal to your country, and of your illustrious deportment in the consular office. I can easily imagine the sentiments which your address, upon this occasion, has created in Rome; and, as to myself, whom you have sent to these far distant parts of the globe, believe me, I speak of it with the highest and most unfeigned applause. I can, with strict truth, assure you, that I have ever had a particular attachment to you from your earliest youth; and, I am sensible, you have always shewn, by your generous offices in promoting my dignities, that you deemed me worthy of the most distinguished honours. But this late instance of your judicious management in procuring the consulship for Marcellus, together with the proof it affords of the favour in which you stand with the republic, has raised you still higher in my esteem. It is with great complacency, therefore, that I hear it observed by men of the first distinction for sense and

suated by his friends, and particularly by Cicero, to accept the clemency of the victor, he at length yielded to their solicitation, and was preparing to return home, when he was cruelly assassinated by a man who had been in the number of his clients. The reader will find a particular account of this murder, together with some other circumstances concerning Marcellus, in the farther progress of these letters and remarks.—*Suet. in vit. Tiber. l. Dio, xl. 148. Cic. de clar. orat. 250. Ep. Fam. iv. 12.*

merit, that, in all our words and actions, our tastes and studies, our principles and pursuits, we bear a strong resemblance to each other. The only circumstance that can render your glorious consulate still more agreeable to me, will be your procuring a successor to be nominated to this province as soon as possible. But, if this cannot be obtained, let me entreat you, at least, not to suffer my continuance here to be prolonged beyond the time limited by your decree, and the law which passed for that purpose. In a word, I hope, upon all occasions, to experience, in my absence, the benefit of your friendship and protection. Farewell.

P. S. I have received some intelligence concerning the Parthians ; but, as it is not at present sufficiently confirmed, I forbear to communicate the particulars to you. For, as I am writing to a consul, my letter, perhaps, might be considered as an information to the senate.

LETTER XXXVI.

[A. U. 702.]

TO CAIUS MARCELLUS,* CONSUL ELECT.

I RECEIVED great pleasure in hearing of your advancement to the consulate. May the gods give you success in the enjoyment of this honour; and may you discharge its important duties in a manner worthy of your own illustrious character, and that of your excellent father! You have my best wishes indeed upon this occasion, not only from affection, but gratitude, and in return to those warmest instances of your friendship, which I have ever experienced in all the various incidents of my life. Many and important are the obligations, likewise, which I have received from your father, both as my protector in adversity, and as having contributed to adorn my prosperity. I must add, also, to this family list of my benefactors, your worthy mother; whose zealous services in behalf both of

* He was cousin german to Marcus Marcellus, to whom the preceding letter is addressed; and by whose interest, in conjunction with that of Pompey, he was elected to succeed him in the consular office. He pursued the politics of his illustrious relation and predecessor, by firmly opposing the views of Cæsar. *Dio*, xl.

my person and dignities, have risen much higher than could have been expected from one of the tender sex. Being then, as I most certainly ought, entirely devoted to your family, let me earnestly entreat your friendship and protection in my absence. Farewell.

LETTER XXXVII.

[A. U. 702.]

TO CAIUS MARCELLUS. *

THE advancement of your son to the consular dignity, and your enjoying a pleasure you so much wished to obtain, are circumstances which afford me a very uncommon satisfaction. They do so, not only upon his account, but yours, whom I esteem as highly deserving of every advantage that Fortune can bestow. Let me acknowledge, at the same time, that I have experienced your singular good-will towards me, both in the adverse and prosperous seasons of my life; and, indeed, my welfare and honours have been the zealous concern of your whole family. I shall be extremely obliged to you, therefore, for making my sincere and particular

* Father of Caius Marcellus, to whom the foregoing letter is written.

congratulations upon this occasion, to that excellent woman your wife. To which request, I will only add, that I entreat the continuance of your friendship and protection in my absence. Farewell.

LETTER XXXVIII.

[A. U. 702.]

TO LUCIUS PAULUS,* CONSUL ELECT.

THOUGH I never once doubted, that, in consideration of your most illustrious family, and of those important services you have yourself likewise rendered to the commonwealth, you would be unanimously elected consul; yet, the confirmation of this desirable news, afforded me an inexpressible satisfaction. It is my sincere wish, that the gods may give success to your administration, and that you may acquit yourself of this honourable and important trust, as becomes your own character, and that of your distinguished family. I should have

* He was colleague with Caius Marcellus, mentioned in the last note. He set out in his administration, it was thought, with principles agreeable to those of his associate. But Cæsar perfectly well knew how to make him change his sentiments; and, by proper applications to his avarice and profusion, he added him to the number of his supple mercenaries. *Plut. in vit. Pomp.*

thought myself extremely happy to have been present at your election, and to have contributed those services which your extraordinary favours to me require. But, as the unexpected government of this province has deprived me of that pleasure, I hope I shall have the satisfaction of seeing you, at least, in the worthy exercise of your consular office. For this purpose, I most earnestly entreat you not to suffer me to be injuriously continued in this province beyond the expiration of my year; a favour which I shall esteem as a very considerable addition to those instances of friendship I have already received at your hands. Farewell.

LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK FOURTH.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 702.]

TO THE CONSULS, THE PRETORS, THE TRIBUNES OF
THE PEOPLE, AND THE SENATE.

THE many obstructions I met with in my way to this province,* both by sea and land, prevented me from reaching it sooner than the last of July. I

* Cicero's province comprehended not only Cilicia, but Pamphylia, Lycaonia, part of Phrygia, and the island of Cyprus, together with some other less considerable appendages. Cilicia was first added to the Roman provinces by Publius Servilius, surnamed Isauricus, in the year of Rome 680. *Ad Att.* v. 21. *Am. Marcellin.* xiv. 8.

thought it my first duty, on my arrival, to see that the militia and garrisons were in good order; being articles in which the interest of the republic is principally concerned. Accordingly, I have taken all proper measures to that end; though I cannot forbear adding, that I have been enabled to effect this, more by my own care and diligence, than from any supplies I was furnished with for that purpose. Having thus adjusted my military preparations, and receiving daily intelligence that the Parthians had actually invaded Syria, I thought it advisable to move with my forces through Lycaonia, Isaurica, and Cappadocia. It seemed highly probable, indeed, if the enemy had any design of attempting an irruption into my province, that they would direct their route through Cappadocia; as being a country that could give them the least opposition. I marched, therefore, into that part of Cappadocia which lies contiguous to Cilicia, and encamped at Cybistra, a town at the foot of Mount Taurus. I had a double view in leading my troops to this place. The first was, that in whatever disposition Artuasdes, king of Armenia, stood towards us, he might be sensible that a Roman army was not far from his frontiers; and, in the next place, that I might be as near as possible to Deiotarus:*

* He was prince of Galatia, a country bordering on

a prince I well knew, extremely our friend, and whose counsel and assistance might prove of great advantage in the present conjuncture. As soon as I had finished my encampment, I detached my cavalry before me into Cilicia. This I did in order to confirm the several cities in that part of my province in their allegiance, by giving them notice of my arrival; and likewise that I might have the earliest intelligence of what was transacting in Syria. During the three days that I continued in this camp, I was engaged in discharging a commission equally necessary and important. I had received your express commands to take the worthy and

Phrygia. He distinguished his zeal for the republic in all the Asiatic wars in which the Romans were engaged during his reign, and was particularly serviceable to Pompey in his expedition against Mithridates; for which he was honoured by the senate with the title of king. Some time after the battle of Pharsalia, (in which he joined with Pompey) his own grandson came to Rome with an impeachment against him. He pretended that Deiotarus formed a design, when Cæsar was his guest, as he lately passed through his dominions, of assassinating that general. This cause seems to have been pleaded in Cæsar's own house, where both Cicero and Brutus appeared as advocates for Deiotarus. The speech which the former made upon this occasion is still extant; and if an orator may be credited in the character he gives of his client, this prince was endowed with every royal virtue. *Orat. pro Deiot.*

faithful Ariobarzanes* under my particular protection; and to defend both his person and his kingdom to the utmost of my power. In your decree, which passed for this purpose, a clause was inserted, declaring, that “the welfare of this province “was much the concern of the people and senate “of Rome:” an honour which was never before paid to any potentate. For this reason, I thought it became me to signify to him, in person, the distinction which you had conferred upon him. I acquainted him, therefore, in the presence of my

* The kingdom of Cappadocia, of which Ariobarzanes was monarch, was of a very large extent; comprehending the greater part of those countries at present under the Ottoman dominion, which are now called Amasia, Genec, and Tocat. It appears, however, by the letters to Atticus, that this kingdom was so extremely impoverished, that the crown was almost wholly destitute of any revenues; a circumstance to which Horace alludes in one of his epistles:

Mancipiis locuples eget æris Cappadocum Rex.

The instance that Plutarch gives of the great scarcity of money among these people is indeed almost incredible, if what the ancient geographers assert be true, that their country abounded in silver mines; for that historian tells us, that when Lucullus was carrying on the war against Mithridates, in this part of the world, an ox sold in Cappadocia for about four-pence, and a slave for sixpence. *Ad Att. vi. 1. Hor. ep. i. 6. Plut. in vit. Luculli.*

council, with the instructions you had given me in his behalf; and called upon him to let me know if there was any instance in which he had occasion for my service. I assured him at the same time, on my own part, that I offered him my protection with the utmost zeal and fidelity. He began his speech with expressing a proper sense of the high honour thus conferred upon him by the people and senate of Rome. He then addressed his acknowledgments to me in particular, for having executed my commission in such a manner as to convince him both of the sincerity with which I proffered him my good offices, and of the strong injunctions I had received from the republic for that purpose.

It gave me great satisfaction to hear him say in this our first interview, that he neither knew, nor indeed suspected, any designs to be carrying on either against his life, or his crown. After I had congratulated him upon so happy a circumstance, and exhorted him, in remembrance of his father's fate, carefully to observe the admonitions of the senate in being particularly cautious of his person, he took his leave, and returned to Cybistra. The next day, however, he paid me a second visit in my tent, accompanied by his brother Ariarathes, together with several venerable old ministers of his late father; who, in a very plaintive and affecting manner, all joined with him in imploring my pre-

tection. Upon my inquiring, with much surprise, what sudden accident had occasioned this unexpected visit, he told me that he had just received certain information of a design to seize his crown; that those who were apprised of this conspiracy, had not the courage to disclose it till my arrival, but, in confidence of my protection, had now ventured to lay open to him the whole plot; and that the disaffected party had actually made treasonable applications to his brother, of whose singular loyalty and affection he expressed, at the same time, the strongest assurance. This account was confirmed to me by Ariarathes himself, who acknowledged that he had been solicited to accept the government; which, in effect, he said, was avowing their intention of destroying Ariobarzanes, as he could never reign during his brother's life. He added, that he had not acquainted the king with these treasonable overtures before, as being apprehensive for his own person, if he had ventured to reveal them sooner. When he had finished, I exhorted Ariobarzanes to take all proper precautions for his security; and then turning to the approved and experienced ministers of his father's and grandfather's reign, I reminded them of the cruel fate that had attended their late sovereign, and admonished them to be so much the more particularly vigilant in protecting their present.

The king requested me to supply him with some

troops both of horse and foot; which, however, I refused, notwithstanding I was empowered, and indeed directed, to do so by your decree. The truth is, the daily accounts I received of what was transacting in Syria, rendered it expedient, for the interest of the republic, that I should march my whole army, with all expedition, to the borders of Cilicia. Besides, as the conspiracy against Ariobarzanes was now fully detected, he appeared to be in a condition of defending his crown without the assistance of a Roman army. I contented myself, therefore, with giving him my advice; and recommended it to him, as the first art of government, to found his security on the affections of his people. With this view, I persuaded him to exert his royal authority in the present conjuncture, no farther than necessity should require, and against those only whom he perceived to be most deeply engaged in the plot; as for the rest, that he should grant them a free and general pardon. To which I added, that the best use he could make of my army was, to intimidate the guilty from persevering in their designs, rather than actually to turn it against them; and that, when the decree of the senate in his favour should be generally known, the disaffected party would be well convinced that I should not fail of assisting him, pursuant to your orders, if occasion required.

Having thus encouraged him, I struck my tents; and am now proceeding on my march to Cilicia. I had the satisfaction, in leaving Cappadocia, to reflect, that my arrival had wonderfully, and indeed almost providentially, delivered that monarch from a conspiracy which was upon the very point of taking effect. This reflection was so much the more agreeable to me, as you had not only voluntarily, and without any application for that purpose, honoured Ariobarzanes with the acknowledgment of his regal title, but had particularly recommended him to my protection, and expressly declared in your decree, that his security was highly your concern. I judged it proper, therefore, to send you this minute account of what has passed in relation to Ariobarzanes, that you might see with how much prudence you had long before provided against a contingency which had well nigh happened. And this I the rather do, as that prince appears to be so faithfully attached to the republic, as well as endowed with such great and excellent qualities, as to justify the extraordinary zeal you have shewn for his interest.

gun to transport a very considerable body of forces over the Euphrates. But as it was the opinion of some of my council, that no great credit was to be given to any intelligence that came from this quarter, I thought proper to wait for better information. Accordingly, on the 19th of September, whilst I was on my march towards Cilicia, I was met by a courier on the frontiers of Lycaonia and Cappadocia, with an express from * Tarcondimotus; a prince esteemed the most faithful of our allies on that side the Taurus, and extremely in the interest of the Romans. The purport of his dispatches was, to inform me, that a powerful body of horse, commanded by Pacorus, the son of Orodes king of Parthia, had passed the Euphrates, and were encamped at Tyba; and that the province of Syria was in great commotion. The same day I received an express likewise to this purpose from Jamblichus, an Arabian Phylarch,† and one who has the general reputation of being a friend to the republic. Upon the whole, therefore, I came to a resolution of leading my army to Tarsus.‡ I was sensible, that our

* His dominions lay on the southern side of Mount Taurus, in a part of Cilicia which the Romans had not thought proper to annex to their province. A coin of this prince is still extant.—See *Biblioth. raisonnée*, tom. xii. p. 329.

† The lord or chief of a clan.

‡ In the original it is *ad Taurum*; but Mr Ross, with

allies, in general, were far from being warm in our interest, and were only waiting the opportunity of some favourable revolution to desert us. I flattered myself, however, that the lenity and moderation of my conduct towards such of them, through whose territories I had already passed, would render them better inclined to the Romans, as I hoped to strengthen Cilicia in its allegiance, by giving that part of my province an opportunity of experiencing also the same equitable administration. But I had still a farther inducement: I determined upon this march, not only in order to chastise those who had taken up arms in Cilicia, but also to convince our enemies in Syria, that the army of the Romans, far from being disposed to retreat upon the news of their invasion, were so much the more eager to advance.

If my advice, then, has any weight, let me earnestly exhort and admonish you, to take proper measures for the preservation of these provinces; measures, indeed, which ought to have been concerted long before, as you were well apprised of those dangers which are now almost within my view. I need not inform you in what manner you thought proper to equip me when I was sent into this part of the world, under a full expectation of

good reason, supposes there is an error in the text, and that it should be read *ad Tarsum*.

being engaged in so important a war. If I did not, however, refuse this commission, it was not because I was so weak as to be insensible how ill provided I was to execute it in a proper manner, but merely in submissive deference to your commands. The truth is, I have at all times willingly exposed myself to the utmost hazards, rather than not testify my implicit obedience to your authority. But the plain fact is, that, if you do not speedily send a very powerful reinforcement into these provinces, the republic will be in the greatest danger of losing the whole of her revenues in this part of the world. If your reliance is upon the provincial militia, be assured you will be extremely disappointed; as they are very inconsiderable in point of numbers, and such miserable dastards as to run away upon the first alarm. The brave Marcus Bibulus is so sensible of the nature of these Asiatic troops, that he has not thought proper to raise any of them, though he had your express permission for that purpose. As to the assistance that may be expected from our allies, the severity and injustice of our government has either so greatly weakened them, as to put it out of their power to be of much service to us, or so entirely alienated their affections, as to render it unsafe to trust them. The inclinations, however, and the forces too (whatever they

be*) of king Deiotarus, I reckon as entirely ours. Cappadocia is wholly unfurnished with any place of strength; and as to those other neighbouring princes, our allies, they are neither willing nor able to afford us any considerable succours. Ill provided, however, as I am with troops, my courage, you may be assured, shall not be wanting; nor, I trust, my prudence. What the event may prove, is altogether uncertain: I can only wish, that I may be in a condition to defend myself with as much success as I certainly shall with honour.

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 702.]

MARCUS CÆLIUS TO CICERO.

THOUGH I have some political news to communicate to you, yet I can acquaint you with nothing, I believe, that will give you more pleasure than what I am going previously to mention. You are to know, then, that Rufus,† your *favourite* Sempro-

* It is probable that Cicero did not at this time know their number; but they were by no means inconsiderable. For it appears, by a letter to Atticus, that they amounted to 12,000 foot, armed in the Roman manner, and 2000 horse. *Ad Att.* vi. 1.

† Cicero mentions this person in a letter to Atticus, as a

nus Rufus, has been lately convicted of false accusation,* to the singular joy of the whole city. This prosecution was occasioned by the following circumstance. Rufus, soon after the exhibition of the Roman games,† was impeached by Marcus Tuccius; and being sensible, that the charge would be proved against him, and that his trial must unavoidably come on this year, unless some other of

man who had failed in the civilities he owed him, by not waiting upon him before he set out for Cilicia; but, at the same time, expresses a satisfaction in having by that means been spared the trouble of a very disagreeable visitor. The epithet, therefore, which Cælius here gives to Rufus, must be understood ironically.—*Ad Att.* v. 2.

* “The Roman laws were particularly severe against those who were discovered to have offended in this point. In criminal causes they inflicted banishment, and *ordinis amissio*, (the loss of rank.) In civil causes the plaintiff generally deposited a sum of money, which he forfeited if he was found guilty of bringing a vexatious suit. Cicero alludes to another punishment, of marking a letter upon the forehead of the false informer, *pro Rosc. Am.* 20. It was the letter K which was impressed upon them; that being the first letter, according to the old orthography, in the word *Kalumniæ*.”—*Mr Ross.*

† These games were instituted by Tarquinius Priscus, A. U. 138, in honour of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. Their annual celebration commenced on the 9th of September, and continued nine days.

an higher nature* intervened, he determined upon an expedient for that purpose. Accordingly, as no one, he thought, had so good a title to the honour of this precedence as his prosecutor, he preferred an accusation upon the Plotian law† against Tuccius, for a violation of the public peace; a charge, however, which he could not prevail with a single person to subscribe.‡ As soon as I was apprized of this affair, I flew to the assistance of Tuccius,

* It is probable, as Manutius observes, that the judges of the present year were in general no friends to Rufus, which made him endeavour to postpone his trial. The same learned commentator remarks, that all trials were brought on in a regular rotation, unless in accusations that were connected with some other cause, that had been immediately before adjudged, or in the case of impeachments for the violation of the public peace. These, he proves, by several instances, were always determined preferably to all other causes whatsoever.

† The author of this law was P. Platius, or Plautius, tribune of the people, A. U. 675; and the penalty inflicted by it was banishment.

‡ It seems to have been customary for the prosecutor, in capital causes, to procure some of his friends to join with him in signing the articles of his impeachment. These were styled *subscriptores*, and acted as a sort of seconds to him in this judicial combat. They could not, however, be admitted into this association without a special licence from the judges for that purpose.—*Vid. Hottom. in Q. Cæcil. divin.* 15.

without waiting his request. But when I rose up to speak, I forbore entering into a particular defence of my friend, contenting myself with displaying the character of his adversary in all its true and odious colours, in which, you may be sure, I did not forget the story concerning Vestorius, and his unworthy conduct towards you.

I must inform you, likewise, of another trial, which at present greatly engages the Forum. Marcus Servilius had been convicted of extortion in his office,* and I ventured to be his advocate, notwithstanding the popular clamour was strongly against him. Servilius, however, having dissipated his whole estate, and being utterly insolvent, Pausanius† petitioned the prætor Laterensis, (and I spoke, likewise, in support of this petition,) that he might be empowered to pursue the sum in question, into

* The whole account of the following transactions concerning Servilius, is extremely (perhaps impenetrably) obscure in the original; and has exercised the ingenuity of all the commentators to enlighten. The translator, however, has ventured, in some instances, to depart from them; though he acknowledges, at the same time, that he is scarce more satisfied with his own interpretation than with theirs.

† Who this person was, or in what manner concerned in the present cause, is altogether undiscoverable. Perhaps, as Mr Ross conjectures, he might have been the prosecutor.

whose hands soever it should appear to have been paid.* But this petition was dismissed; the prætor alleging, that Pilius, a relation of our friend Atticus, had also exhibited articles of impeachment against my client for a crime of the same kind. This news immediately spread throughout Rome, and it was generally said in all conversations, that Pilius would certainly make good his charge. Appius the younger was much disturbed at this report, as having a claim upon Servilius of eighty-one hundred thousand sesterces;† a sum which he scrupled not to avow, had been deposited in the hands of Servilius, in order to be paid over to the prosecutor in an information against his father, provided the informer would suffer himself to be nonsuited. If you are surprised at the weakness of Appius, in

* It appears by a passage, which Manutius produces from the oration in defence of Rabirius, that, in convictions of this kind, the money was recoverable, by the Julian law, from any hand into which it could be proved to have been paid.—*Pro Rabir. Post.* 4.

† About 55,367l. of our money. This sum must appear excessive, if considered only with respect to the wealth of the present times. But Appius might well be enabled to give it, and it might have been extremely prudent in him, likewise, to have done so, if this prosecution was (what seems highly probable) on account of his father's having plundered some province committed to his administration.

thus acknowledging so shameful a bargain, how much higher would your astonishment have risen, if you had heard his evidence upon the trial of that very ill-judged action which he brought against Servilius for this money? He most clearly, indeed, made appear, to the full satisfaction of the whole court, both his own folly and his father's guilt. To complete the absurdity of his conduct, upon this occasion, he was so imprudent as to summon the very same judges upon this cause, who tried the information I just now mentioned to have been brought against his father. It happened, however, that their voices were equally divided.* But the prætor, not knowing how the law stood in this case, declared, that Servilius had a majority of the three classes of judges in his favour; and accordingly acquitted him in the usual form. At the rising of the court, therefore, it was generally imagined, that the acquittal of Servilius would be enrolled. But the prætor thinking it advisable to look into the laws upon this point, before he made up the record, found it expressly enacted, that “in all causes sentence shall be pronounced according to the majority of the votes in the whole collective number

* In this case the Roman law determined by the most favourable presumption, and absolved the defendant.

“ of judges.”* Instead, therefore, of registering the acquittal of Servilius, he only inserted in the roll the number of voices as they stood in each respective class. Appius, in consequence of this mistake, recommenced his suit, while the prætor, by the intervention of Lollius, promised to amend the record, and enter a proper judgment. But the hapless Servilius, neither entirely acquitted, nor absolutely condemned, is at length to be delivered over, with this his blasted character, to the hands of Pilius. For Appius not venturing to contend with the latter, which of their actions should have the priority, has thought proper to wave his prosecution. He, himself, is likewise impeached by the relations of Servilius for bribery ; as he has also another accusation laid against him by one Titius, a creature of his own, who has charged him with a breach of the

* It has already been observed in the foregoing notes, that the judges were divided into three classes. See p. 5. note. It is obvious, therefore, that there might have been a majority in two of the classes out of the three, in favour of Servilius, and yet that the voices, considered with respect to the whole number of judges, might have been equal. But it is inconceivable, that a magistrate of prætorian rank could possibly be ignorant of a practice, which one can scarce suppose the most common citizen of Rome to have been unacquainted with. Notwithstanding, therefore, Cælius ascribes the prætor’s conduct to ignorance, it seems much more probable to have arisen from design.

peace. And thus are these two worthy combatants most equally matched.

As to public affairs, we had waited several days in expectation that something would be determined concerning Gaul; frequent motions having been made in the senate for this purpose, which were followed by very warm debates. At length, however, it plainly appearing, agreeable to Pompey's sentiments, that Cæsar's command in Gaul should not be continued longer than the first of March, the senate passed the following orders and decrees.*

“BY AUTHORITY OF THE SENATE, held in the temple
“ of Apollo, on the 30th day of September. Sign-
“ ed: † L. Domitius Ahenobarbas; Q. Cæcilius;
“ Metullus Pius Scipio; L. Villius Annalis; C. Sep-
“ timius; Caius Luceius Hirrus; C. Scribonius Cu-
“ rio; L. Atteius Capito; M. Oppius. WHERE-
“ AS a motion was made by Marcus Marcellus, the
“ consul, concerning the consular provinces, it is
“ ORDERED, that Lucius Paulus, and Caius Mar-
“ cellus, consuls elect, shall, on the first of March
“ next, following their entering upon their office,
“ move the senate concerning the consular pro-

* With regard to the difference between an order and a decree of the senate, see Vol. I. p. 69. note.

† The decrees of the senate were usually signed in this manner by those who were the principal promoters of the question.

“vinces, at which time no other business shall be
“proceeded upon, nor any other motion made in
“conjunction therewith. And, for this purpose,
“the senate shall continue to assemble, notwithstanding the comitial days,* and until a decree
“shall be passed.”

“ORDERED, that when the consuls shall move
“the senate upon the question aforesaid, they shall
“be empowered to summon such of the 300 judges
“who are members of the senate to attend.”†

“RESOLVED, that if any matters shall arise upon
“the question aforesaid, which shall be necessary
“to be laid before the people; that Servius Sulpicius, and Marcus Marcellus, the present consuls,
“together with the prætors and tribunes of the people, or such of them as shall be agreed upon,

* The comitial days were those on which the *Comitia*, or assemblies of the people, were held; and, on these, the law prohibited the senate to be convened. The senate, however, in the present instance, and agreeable to a prerogative which they claimed and exercised upon many other occasions, took upon themselves to act with a dispensing power. See *Mid. on the Rom. Sen.* p. 121.

† This clause was inserted in order to secure a full house; a certain number of senators being necessary to be present for making a decree valid. See Vol. I. p. 176. note. The correction of Manutius has been adopted in the translation, who, instead of “*sex abducere liceret*,” reads “*eos abducere*,” &c.

“ shall call an assembly of the people for this purpose; and if the magistrates aforesaid shall fail herein, the same shall be proposed to the people by their successors.”

“ THE THIRTIETH DAY OF SEPTEMBER, in the temple of Apollo. Signed : L. Domitius Ahenobarbus; Q. Cæcilius; Metullus Pius Scipio; L. Villius Annalis; C. Septimius; C. Scribonius Curio; M. Oppius.

“ The consul Marcus Marcellus having moved the senate concerning the provinces,

“ RESOLVED, that it is the opinion of the senate, that it will be highly unbecoming any magistrate, who has a power of controlling their proceedings, to occasion any hindrance whereby the senate may be prevented from taking the aforesaid motion into consideration as soon as possible; and that whosoever shall obstruct or oppose the same, shall be deemed an enemy to the republic.

“ ORDERED, that if any magistrate shall put a negative upon the foregoing resolution, the same shall be entered as an order of the senate, and again referred to the consideration of this house.”

This resolution was protested against by Caius Cœlius, Lucius Vinicius, P. Publius Cornelius, and Caius Vibius Pansa.

“ RESOLVED, that the senate will take into consideration the case of such of the soldiers under

“ Cæsar’s command, who have served out their
“ legal time, or who, for other reasons, are entitled
“ to a discharge; and make such order thereup-
“ on as shall be agreeable to equity.”*

“ RESOLVED, that, if any magistrate shall put his
“ negative upon the foregoing decree, the same
“ shall stand as an order of senate, and be again
“ referred to the consideration of this house.”

This resolution was protested against by Caius Cœlius, and Caius Pansa, tribunes of the people.

“ ORDERED, that such of the present prætors,
“ who have never held any provincial command,
“ shall draw lots to succeed respectively to the go-
“ vernment of Cilicia, and the eight remaining Præ-
“ torian† provinces. But if there shall not be a
“ sufficient number‡ of these to fill up the afore-
“ said governments, then, and in this case, the de-

* A Roman soldier could not be compelled to bear arms after having been in the service ten years. As the strength of Cæsar’s army in Gaul consisted principally in his veterans, this clause was added, as Gronovius observes, with a view of drawing off those soldiers from his troops.

† The provinces of lesser note were usually assigned to the prætors; and from thence they were distinguished by the name of the Prætorian provinces.

‡ The number of prætors varied in different periods of the republic. In the times of Cicero this magistracy was composed of eight persons, as Cellarius remarks in his note upon this passage.

“ ficiency shall be supplied by lot out of the first
“ college * of prætors, among those who have never
“ held a foreign government. And if there shall
“ not be found a sufficient number among these
“ last, so qualified as aforesaid, the same shall be
“ supplied from the members of each preceding
“ college, till the whole number required be com-
“ pleted.

“ RESOLVED, that if any magistrate shall put his
“ negative upon the foregoing decree, the same
“ shall stand as an order of the senate.”

This decree was protested against by Caius Cœlius, and Caius Pansa, tribunes of the people.

In the debates which preceded these decrees, Pompey let fall an expression that was much observed, and gave us very confident hopes of his good intentions. “ He could not, without great injustice, he said, determine any thing in relation
“ to the provinces under Cæsar’s command, before
“ the first of March ; but after that time, he assured the senate he should have no sort of scruple.” Being asked, “ what if a negative should then be
“ put upon a decree of the senate for recalling
“ Cæsar ? ” He declared that he should look upon

* Every annual set of prætors were distinguished by colleges, styled the 1st, 2d, 3d, &c. according to their several removes from the current year.

it as just the same thing, whether Cæsar openly refused to obey the authority of the senate, or secretly procured some magistrate to obstruct their decrees. But suppose, said another member, Cæsar should pursue his pretensions to the consulate, and retain his command abroad at the same time. "Suppose," replied Pompey, with great temper, "my own son should lay violent hands upon me?" From expressions of this kind the world has conceived a notion that a rupture will undoubtedly ensue between Pompey and Cæsar. I am of opinion, however, that the latter will submit to one of these two conditions; either to give up his present pretensions to the consulate, and continue in Gaul, or to quit the province, provided he can be assured of his election. Curio is preparing most strongly to oppose his demands. What he may be able to effect, I know not; but sure I am, that a man who acts upon such patriot principles, must gain honour at least, if he gain nothing else. He treats me upon all occasions with great generosity; and, indeed, in a late instance, has been more liberal than I could have wished; as his civility has drawn upon me a trouble which, perhaps, I might otherwise have escaped. He has presented me with some African panthers, which he had procured for his own games, and by that means laid me under a

necessity of making use of them.* I must, therefore, remind you of what I have often mentioned already, and entreat you to send me some of these animals from your part of the world; and I again likewise recommend to your care the bond of Sitius.

I have had occasion to dispatch my freedman, Philo, together with Diogenes, a Greek, into your province. I hope you will afford your patronage both to them and their commission; as you will find, by the letter they are to deliver to you on my part, that it is an affair† in which I am deeply interested. Farewell.

* In the games he was preparing to exhibit as *Ædile*.

† This affair seems to be explained by an epistle to Atticus, wherein Cicero mentions the receipt of a very pressing letter from Cœlius, by the hands of his freedman. The purport of it appears to have been, to solicit Cicero to levy a contribution upon his province, towards the expence of those public games, which Cœlius, as *Ædile*, was obliged to exhibit. This oppressive tax had been frequently raised by the governors of provinces, in favour of their friends at Rome, and was, indeed, almost established into a custom.—But Cicero, notwithstanding he seems to have had a sincere affection for Cœlius, would by no means be prevailed upon to break through the equitable maxims of his administration, and with great integrity refused his request. *Ad Att.* vi. 1. *Ad Q. F.* l. 1. No. 9.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 702.]

TO PUBLIUS SILIUS,* PROPÆTOR.

You are apprized, I imagine, of the friendship that subsisted between Titus Pinnius and myself. He has sufficiently declared it, indeed, by his will, wherein he not only appointed me one of the guardians to his son, but left me the contingent reversion also of his estate. My ward (who is a youth of uncommon modesty, as well as great application to his studies) has a very considerable demand upon the city of Nicæa, amounting to eight millions of sesterces: † and the corporation, I am told, are inclined to pay off part of this sum the first debt they shall discharge. Now, as not only the rest of the trustees, who know the regard you bear me, but the young man himself, is persuaded that you will not refuse any thing to my request, I shall be exceedingly obliged to you for employing your good offices, (as far, I mean, as may be

* He was at this time proprætor, or governor, of Bithynia and Pontus in Asia, where he discharged the provincial functions with great applause. *Ad Att.* vi. 8.

† About 70,000*l.* sterling.

consistent with your dignity and character,) that they pay off as large a proportion of this demand as possible. Farewell.

LETTER IX.

[A. U. 702.]

TO MARCUS CÆLIUS, CURULE-ÆDILE ELECT.

I CONGRATULATE you on the honourable post you have lately obtained,* and on the prospect which, by this mean, is open to you, of advancing still higher in the dignities of the republic. I am somewhat late, I confess, in my compliments; however, you must not impute it to any intentional neglect, but merely to my ignorance of what passes at Rome. For, partly from the great distance of my situation, and partly from those banditti which infest the roads, it is a considerable time before I can receive any intelligence from Italy. And now I know not where to find words sufficiently strong to give you joy upon this occasion, or to express my thanks for your having thus “furnished me (as you “termed it in one of your former letters) with a “subject of perpetual ridicule.” When I first received the news of your victory, I could not for-

* The Ædileship.

bear mimicking a certain *worthy friend* of ours, and imitating the droll figures those gallant youths exhibited, of whose interest he had so confidently boasted.* But it is not easy to give you in description a complete idea of this my humorous sally. I must tell you, however, that I next figured you to myself, and accosted you, as if present, in the words of the comic poet :

Far less, my good friend, I rejoice at your deed,
As exceeding whatever before did exceed,
Than as mounting aloft o'er my hopes the most high;
And for this, " By my troth 'tis amazing," I cry.

Upon which I broke out into a most immoderate fit of laughter; and when some of my friends reproved my mirth, as deviating almost into downright folly, I excused myself by the old verse,—

* A mere modern reader, who judges of past ages by the modes that prevail in his own, must undoubtedly conceive a very low opinion of Cicero from the account which he here gives of his behaviour. But mimicry was not esteemed by the Romans, as it is with us, a talent becoming only a comedian or a buffoon: On the contrary, this species of humour was thought worthy of the gravest characters, even upon the gravest occasions; and it was practised by their orators, as well as recommended by their rhetoricians, as a quality, under certain restrictions, of singular grace and efficacy in the whole business of public eloquence. *Vid. Cic. de Orat.* ii. 59, 60.

Excessive joy is not exceeding wise.

In short, whilst I ridiculed this noble friend of ours, I became almost as ridiculous as himself. But you shall hear farther upon this subject another opportunity; for, in truth, I have many things to say both *of* you and *to* you, whenever I shall find more leisure for that purpose. In the mean time, be assured, my dear Cœlius, that I sincerely love you. I consider you, indeed, as one whom fortune has raised up to advance my glory, and avenge my wrongs; and I doubt not, you will give both those who hate and those who envy me, sufficient reason to repent of their folly and their injustice. Farewell.

LETTER X.

[A. U. 702.]

TO PUBLIUS SILIUS, PROPÆTOR.

YOUR good offices in the affair of Atilius, afford me an additional motive for giving you my affection. Late, indeed, as I applied to you in his behalf, I have, however, by your generous intervention, preserved a most worthy Roman knight from ruin. The truth is, I always looked upon my friendship with Læmia, as giving me a claim to yours. In

the first place, then, I return you thanks for easing my mind of all its disquietude with respect to Atilius; and, in the next, after thus acknowledging your last favour, I have the assurance to request another; and it is a favour which I shall repay with the utmost returns of my esteem and gratitude. Let me entreat you, then, if I have any share in your heart, to allow my brother an equal enjoyment of the same privilege; which will be adding a very considerable obligation to that important one I so lately received at your hands. Farewell.

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 702.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

By all that I can collect from your last letter, this will find you in the suburbs* of Rome. But though the impotent calumnies of these poultry pro-

* Appius, at his return from Cilicia, demanded a triumph, as the reward of his military exploits in that province; and accordingly took up his residence *without* the city. For those who claimed this honour were not admitted within the walls of Rome, till their petition was either granted or rejected, or they chose to drop it themselves. The latter was the case with respect to Appius, as will hereafter appear.

vincials will probably be subsided ere this reaches your hands, yet I think it necessary to return some answer to the long epistle I received from you upon that subject; and I shall do so in as few words as possible.

As to the accusation contained in the two first paragraphs of your letter, it is conceived in such vague and general terms, that it is impossible to give it a direct reply. The whole that I can gather from it is, that I am accused of having discovered, by my countenance and my silence, that I was by no means your friend; a discovery which I made, it seems, upon some occasion in the courts of judicature, and likewise at certain public entertainments. I am very sure, there is not the least ground for this imputation; but as you do not point out the particular instances, I know not in what manner to vindicate myself from the charge. This, however, I most undoubtedly know, that I have mentioned you, upon all occasions, both public and private, with the highest applause, and with the warmest professions of friendship. As to the affair of the deputies,* I will appeal to your own breast, whether I

* “ It was a custom for the governors of provinces, upon their retirement from their government, to procure ambassadors to be sent to Rome from the several cities under their jurisdiction, to praise the integrity and equity

could possibly have acted with more probity and discretion than to lessen the expences of these impoverished cities, without any diminution, at the same time, of those honours which they proposed to pay you; especially as it was in compliance with their own immediate request? And, indeed, I was wholly unapprized of the *particular* purposes of that deputation, which was going to Rome with the customary complimentary address to the senate upon your account. When I was at Apamea,* some of the principal inhabitants of several different cities, complained to me of the excessive appointments that were decreed to their deputies; as-

“ of their administration. The origin of this custom was
“ undoubtedly good, and, in some few instances, we find
“ that it was undertaken voluntarily; but it was generally
“ extorted by force, and a great burden to the miserable
“ inhabitants, who, perhaps, had been already fleeced by
“ the rapine and plunder of that very person whose lenity
“ and moderation they were compelled to extol. Appius
“ had taken care, before he left Cilicia, to secure this compliment to be paid to himself, though as undeserving of it
“ as any of his predecessors. But Cicero, who set out upon
“ a more frugal plan than other governors, prevented it,
“ out of compassion to the poverty and indigence of the province.” *Mr Ross.*

* A city in that part of Phrygia which was annexed to Cicero's province; as was Synnada, likewise, mentioned a few lines below.

suring me, that their respective communities were by no means in a condition to support the assessments levied upon them for that purpose. This suggested to my thoughts various reflections; and I imagined, that a man of your refined sentiments could not be extremely fond of honours of this unsubstantial nature. Accordingly, it was at Synnada, I think, that I took occasion to say from the tribunal, (and I expatiated very largely upon the subject,) “ that the approved merit of Appius was “ sufficient, without the testimony of the Miden- “ sians, (for it was in their city* that the proposal “ first arose,) to recommend him to the esteem of “ the senate and the Roman people; that I had “ often, indeed, seen instances of this kind of de- “ putations, but did not remember they were ever “ admitted to an audience; that, however, I ap- “ plauded the gratitude they had thus shewn for “ your merit towards them, but thought the parti- “ cular instance in question was wholly unneces- “ sary; that if any of them were willing to under- “ take this commission at their own expence, I “ should highly commend their zeal; and I would “ even consent it should be performed at the pub-

* A town in the neighbourhood of Synnada. In the original it is *Myndensium*; but Quartier has given good reasons for the reading here followed.

“lic charge, provided they did not exceed a reasonable sum; but, beyond that, I would in no sort give my permission.”

I am persuaded there is nothing in what I thus said, that can possibly give you offence; and indeed your principal complaint is levelled, I perceive, against my edict.* For there were some, it seems, who thought it manifestly drawn up with a view of preventing these legations. I cannot forbear saying, that, to give attention to these groundless insinuations, is no less injurious to me than to be author of them. The truth of it is, I settled this edict before I left Rome; and the single addition that I made to it afterwards, was at the instance of the farmers of the revenues; who, when they met me at Samos,† desired I would transcribe a paragraph out of your edict and insert it into mine. It was that article which restrains the public expenses, and contains several new and very salutary regulations, which I greatly approved. But as to that particular section which gave rise, I find, to the suspicion, that I framed it with a design of striking at you, it is copied entirely from the old precedents.

* The nature of these proconsular edicts has already been explained in p. 52. note.

† An island near the coast of Ionia, lying opposite to the city of Ephesus. Cicero touched at this island in his voyage to the province.

I was not, indeed, so absurd, as to think, (what I perceive you imagine,) that some private affair was concerned in this deputation ; well knowing, that it was sent from a public body in relation to your public character, and addressed to that great council of the whole world, the senate of Rome. Nor did I, (as you object,) when I prohibited any person from going out of the province without my permission, exclude all those from the possibility of obtaining that leave, who could not follow me to the camp, and beyond Mount Taurus ; an imputation, I must needs say, the most ridiculous of any in your whole letter. For where, let me ask, was the necessity, that any person should follow me for this purpose to the camp, or beyond Mount Taurus ; when I regulated my journey from Laodicea to Iconium in such a manner, that all the magistrates and deputies of the several cities in that district might have an opportunity of meeting me ? They could not, therefore, be under the difficulty you charge me with having thrown in their way, unless they had taken up the design of going to Rome after my having passed Mount Taurus ; which, most undoubtedly, was not the case. For, during my stay at Apamea, Synnada, Philomelum,* and Iconium, all affairs of that nature were entirely settled.

* A city in Phrygia Major, situated on the frontiers towards Galatia. The situation of the other cities mentioned

I must farther assure you, that I decreed nothing concerning the abating or abolishing the appointments of the deputies, but at the express request of the principal inhabitants of several cities; and their view was, to prevent any unnecessary exactions that were occasioned by the farming of the subsidies imposed for this purpose, and raising them in that cruel method of capitation, with which you are so well acquainted. Compassion, indeed, as well as justice, inclined me to ease the calamities of these unhappy cities, oppressed as they chiefly were by their own magistrates; * and when I was engaged in a design of that nature, I could not possibly overlook an expence which appeared so extremely superfluous as that of the appointments of these de-

in this place, has already been occasionally noted as they occurred in the preceding letters.

* It appears from the letters to Atticus, to whom it was that the grievances of these unhappy cities were principally owing. Their own magistrates, it is true, had some share in them; but their chief oppressor was Appius himself. The desolation he had brought upon this plundered province was so dreadful, that one would rather imagine, says Cicero, some savage monster had been let loose upon them, than that they had been trusted to the care of any human creature. And in another letter he tells Atticus, that he had sufficient employment in applying remedies to those wounds which had been given to this province by his predecessor.—*Ad Att. v. 16, 17.*

puties. It was but a piece of justice, therefore, due to me, not to have listened to any idle tales that might be related to you upon this subject. But if it should prove, after all, that you attribute to the reports of others, what, in truth, receive their rise merely from your own suspicions, you certainly make use of a sort of figure which the language of friendship will by no means authorize. Had it ever, indeed, been my design to derogate from your reputation in the province, I should scarce have acted in the manner I did; I should not have referred it to your son-in-law at Rome, to your freedman at Brundisium, and to the commander of your artillery, when I saw him at Corcyra, to name the place which they thought would be most agreeable to you for our meeting. In short, I wish you would remember the maxim, which those great authors have laid down, who have written so excellently upon friendship, that, “to *accuse* and to *defend*, are terms which “ought for ever to be banished from intercourses “of this amicable kind.”

But do you imagine that I have had no opportunities of listening, in my turn, to accusations of the same nature against yourself? Was it never told me, do you think, that, after you had appointed me to meet you at Laodicea, you retired beyond Mount Taurus? That, at the very time I was employed in my juridical office at Apamea, Synnada, and Philo-

melum, you took the liberty to exercise the same authority at Tarsus? But I forbear to enter farther into these particulars, that I may not follow your example in the very instance of which I am complaining. This, however, I will say, (and I say it with great sincerity,) that if you are really persuaded of the truth of these reports, you do me much injustice; and you are not entirely without reproach, if you only suffered them to be related to you. The truth is, it will appear that I have acted towards you in one uniform tenor of friendship. And let those who impute artifice to me, say, whether it is probable, that, after having paid the utmost attention to your interest, during your absence from Rome, and at a time when I had not the least expectation of its ever being in your power to return me the same favour, I should give you just reason to abandon me now that I have so many occasions for your good offices. I must, however, acknowledge, that there is one article wherein I may not, perhaps, have regulated myself altogether agreeably to your inclinations. I am sensible you would be displeased with any liberties that should be taken with the characters of those who acted in office under you; and I will own, that I have heard very unfavourable representations of some of them. But I must add, that no persons were ever mentioned upon this occasion, or any greater irregularities

laid to their charge, than those which your friend Clodius himself named to me when I saw him at Corcyra; who lamented, I remember, that you had been some sufferer in your reputation by the malpractices of those officers.* Reports of this kind

* A particular instance of the cruelty of one of these officers under Appius, is mentioned in the letters to Atticus. Scaptius, who commanded a troop of horse in Cyprus, surrounded their senate with his forces, in order to compel them, it is probable, to comply with some unjust demands, and kept them thus besieged till five of the members perished with hunger. When the government of this province came into the hands of Cicero, the Cyprians, as their island lay within his jurisdiction, petitioned that these troops might be withdrawn; and he very humanely complied with their request. He relieved them, likewise, as well as other cities under his government, from the immoderate interest which they paid for the money, which their necessities had obliged them to borrow in Rome; reducing it from 4 *per cent.* paid monthly, to 1 *per cent.* This equitable reduction very considerably affected Brutus, who was concerned in these loans; and he seems to have complained of it to Atticus. But notwithstanding the latter strongly pressed Cicero to favour Brutus in this affair, and Brutus himself likewise had written to Cicero for the same purpose, yet he resolutely withstood their united solicitations. “If Brutus,” says he, “resents my conduct upon this occasion, I shall be sorry;” “but much more so, to find him a different man from what I always thought him.” And if Cicero, I will add, had spoken and acted upon every other occasion with the same spirit and integrity, as he certainly did in the present, he

(and many such indeed there are) I never in the least encouraged; but I will frankly acknowledge, likewise, that I never greatly endeavoured to repress them; well persuaded as I am, that they can, in no sort, affect your character.

Whoever attempts to persuade you, that there is no such thing as a perfect reconciliation between friends whose affections have once been alienated, discovers the perfidy of his own heart, instead of proving the dissimulation of mine; at the same time that it is evident, that he has not a worse opinion of my sincerity, than he must necessarily entertain of yours. But if any man has taken offence at the measures I pursue in my government, as not exactly coinciding with yours, I am perfectly unconcerned at the loss of his friendship. To say truth, we have both acted in the manner we ought, though we have not both followed the same plan. The instances you gave of your diffusive liberality in this province, were suitable to a man of your quality. Though indeed even you yourself were obliged, the last year, in compliance with the calamities of the season, a little to restrain the munificence of your natural disposition. But if mine, on the contrary, flows in a somewhat more limited

would have merited all the encomiums which the warmest of his admirers could have bestowed.—*Ad Att.* vi. 1. 2.

channel, let not those, to whom the benefit of that stream has not reached, wonder that I rather choose *they* should suffer from the necessary restrictions of my bounty, than that *I* should from the just reproaches of my conscience. I have ever, indeed, been extremely reserved in dispensing largesses at another's cost; as I cannot but be sensibly affected with distresses that extend themselves throughout a whole community.

I am much obliged to you for the account you gave me of affairs at Rome; and particularly for the assurance of your faithfully executing all my requests. What I principally recommend to your care, is, that neither the business nor the period of my administration may be enlarged. To this end, I beg you would entreat our common friend and* colleague Hortensius, that, if ever he was disposed to comply with my inclinations, he would not persist in my continuing two years in this government, than which he cannot do me a more unfriendly office.

As to the information you desire concerning my own motions, I marched from Tarsus, in my way to Amanus, on the 7th of October, and I write this the day following from my camp in the plains of

* In the Augural College.

Mopsuhesta.* If any action should happen, I shall not fail of giving you notice; and you may depend upon my inclosing a letter to you whenever I send one to my family. With respect to the Parthians, whom you inquire after, I am persuaded that none ever appeared. They were only a troop of Arabians, armed after the Parthian manner. But these, it is said, are all returned home, and I am assured there is now no appearance of an enemy in Syria.

I entreat you to write to me as often as possible, not only as to what regards your own and my private affairs, but as to those likewise of the republic. I am more than ordinarily, indeed, solicitous concerning the latter, as I find, by your letter, that Pompey is going into Spain.† Farewell.

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 702.]

TO PUBLIUS SILIUS, PROPRETOR.

I DID not imagine I should ever have found myself at a loss for expressions; yet at a loss, believe

* A city in Cilicia, situated upon the banks of the river Pyramus.

† The government of Spain had been renewed to Pompey for five years at the end of his consulate in the prece-

me, I am, to recommend Marcus Lænius to you in the terms he deserves. I must content myself therefore, with explaining the business of this letter in a few words; but in such, however, as may render you sufficiently sensible of my inclinations. It is incredible, how great an esteem both my dearest brother and myself entertain for Lænius; an esteem, which is founded, not only on the many good offices he has conferred upon us, but on the exalted integrity of his heart, and the singular modesty with which all his virtues are accompanied. It was with the utmost regret, therefore, that I consented to part with him; as I receive much advantage from his counsels, as well as great entertainment from his company. But if I should expatiate any farther in his praise, will you not think, that, far from wanting words, as I just now complained, I have employed more than are necessary? To be short then, I recommend Lænius to your protection, with all that warmth which you must be sensible I ought, after what I have here said. -Let me earnestly entreat you, to expedite the business which has called him into your province, and to favour him, likewise, with your advice in the con-

ding year; which province, however, he administered by his lieutenants, whilst he himself still continued in Rome.—*Dio*, xli. 148.

duct of it. You will find him, be assured, a man of a most generous and well-natured disposition; for which reason, I beg you will send him back to us with the satisfaction of having finished his affairs by your means, as soon as possible. Your compliance with this request will extremely oblige both my brother and myself. Farewell.

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 702.]

TO MARCUS CÆLIUS, CURULE-ÆDILE ELECT.

I WISH you would enquire the reason that your letters miscarry; for I cannot be induced to think that you have not once written to me since your election.* I am persuaded, on the contrary, that you would not have omitted to communicate a piece of news I so much wished with regard to yourself, and so little expected in relation to Hirrus. The truth, however, is, that I have not heard from you since that glorious and joyful event; which gives me some uneasiness, lest my letters should have had no better success in finding their way to your hand. But be assured I have never written to my family without accompanying my packet with

* Into the office of Ædile.

a letter for you; as, indeed, there is no man whom I more sincerely and tenderly value.—But to turn to the principal purpose of this epistle. Your wish has succeeded, and I have just had employment enough of the military kind to entitle me to a triumph. You were under some apprehensions, I perceive, about the Parthians, as being diffident of my forces. I must acquaint you, then, that, having received advice that the Parthians had committed hostilities, I took the advantage of some defiles, and of the neighbouring mountains, to lead my army, supported by a tolerable number of auxiliaries, to Amanus. The reputation of my name was of some benefit to me likewise in my march; for you cannot imagine of what importance it is, in places of this kind, to have the populace ask, *Is this the consul that saved Rome? Is this he that was so honoured by the senate?* together with other questions of the same import, which I need not add. When I approached to Amanus, a mountain which separates Cilicia from Syria, I had the satisfaction to hear that Cassius* had obliged the enemy to aban-

* He was lieutenant to Crassus, in Syria, after whose death the command of the province devolved upon him, till Bibulus, who was appointed successor to Crassus, arrived.—A more particular account will be given of him in the farther progress of these remarks.

don the siege of Antiochea, and that Bibulus had taken upon himself the command of the province. —However, I employed my army in harassing the Amanienses, our eternal enemies; and having put many of them to the sword, as well as taken a great number of prisoners, and entirely dispersed the rest, I surprised and burnt some of their fortresses. Having thus obtained a complete victory, I was saluted with the title of *Imperator*, by the whole army, at Issus;* the very place (as your favourite historian, Clitarchus,† has often, I have heard you say, informed you) where Alexander defeated Darius. From thence I marched into the most infested parts of Cilicia, where I am now before Pindenessum, a city of great strength, and which I have already been battering above these three weeks: the garrison makes a most obstinate and vigorous defence; so that nothing seems wanting to complete the glory I shall here obtain, but that the name of this place were less obscure. If I should make myself master of it, (as I trust I shall,) I will send an immediate express to the senate. In the mean time I have given you this general account of my ope-

* A city which stood on the frontiers of Cilicia and Syria.

† A Greek historian, who attended Alexander in his Persian expedition.

rations, to let you see there is some foundation to hope that your good wishes will take effect. But to return to the Parthians. This summer's campaign has proved, you find, tolerably successful; I am in great pain, however, for the next. Let me entreat you, therefore, my dear friend, to endeavour that a successor be appointed to my government: but if that should prove a matter of too much difficulty, (as you intimate in one of your letters, and as I am myself inclined to suspect,) be careful, at least, to guard against what may easily be prevented; I mean the prolongation of my residence.

I expect, from your letters, (as I mentioned in one of my former,) not merely an account of what is at present going forward in the republic, but a clear prospect also of what is likely to happen: for which purpose I entreat you to inform me fully of every thing that concerns the public. Farewell.

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 702.]

MARCUS CÆLIUS TO CICERO.*

WE have received an express from Caius Cassius,

* This letter appears to have been written before any of Cicero's dispatches, concerning the Parthians, had reached

and another from Deiotarus, which greatly alarm us. The former writes, that the Parthian army has passed the Euphrates; and the latter, that they are actually marching towards your province, by the way of Commagene. As I well know how ill provided you are with troops, the principal concern I feel from this invasion, with respect to you, is lest you should be a loser by it in point of reputation. Had you been better prepared, indeed, to receive the enemy, I should have been in great pain for your life; but as the very small number of your forces will incline you, I imagine, rather to think of a retreat than an engagement, I am only anxious concerning your honour: for how far the world may consider the necessity of the case, and approve of your thus declining a battle, is a point, I confess, which gives me much uneasy reflection. In short, I shall be in continual anxiety till I hear of your arrival in Italy. In the mean time, this news of the Parthians has occasioned a variety of speculations: some are of opinion that Pompey ought to be sent to oppose them; and others, that it is by no means convenient he should leave Rome. A third party is for assigning this expedition to Cæsar and his

Rome; and consequently before Cælius had received the preceding epistle.

army; whilst a fourth names the consuls* as the most proper persons to be employed: but all agree, however, in being silent as to any decree of the senate for placing this command in private hands.† The consuls, in the apprehension that they shall either be nominated to a commission which they do not relish, or suffer the disgrace of its being given from them, forbear to convene the senate, and by this mean incur the censure of neglecting the public interest. But whether indolence or pusillanimity be the real motive of their declining the conduct of this war, it is concealed under the specious appearance, however, of modesty.

As we have received no courier from you, it was suspected, till the dispatch from Deiotarus arrived, that the whole was an invention of Cassius, who, it was thought, in order to cover his own rapine, had suffered a parcel of Arabs to make an incursion into the province, and then represented them to the senate as a formidable body of Parthians. Whatever, therefore, may be the true state of the affair, let me persuade you to be extremely circumspect in giving a faithful and accurate account of it to the senate, that you may neither be reproached with mag-

* Marcus Marcellus, and Servius Sulpicius.

† That is, in the hands of those who were not invested with some public command.

nifying matters, in order to gratify the private purposes of Cassius, nor with concealing any thing which may be of importance for the public to know.

It is now the 18th of November; and as we are advanced thus far towards the end of the year, I do not see that any thing can be done in this affair before the first of January;* for you know how slow and inactive Marcellus is upon all occasions, and are no stranger to the dilatory disposition of Sulpicius: you will easily judge, therefore, what is to be expected from two men of this unperforming cast; and that they who usually act with so much coldness, as to make one doubt their inclinations, even in points they really desire to effect, will not be very warm in forwarding a business from which they are certainly averse.

If the Parthian war should become a serious matter, the new magistrates will be engaged, for the first two or three months of their office, in adjusting the proper measures to be taken in this conjuncture. On the other hand, if it should appear to be an invasion of no consequence, or such, at least, that, with the supply of a few additional troops, may easily be repelled by you and the other pro-

* When the consuls elect entered upon the administration of their office.

consuls already in those provinces, or by your successors, Curio, I foresee, will begin to play his double game; that is, he will, in the first place, attempt to weaken the authority of Cæsar; * and, in the next, endeavour to throw some little advantages on the side of Pompey. As for Paulus,† he declares most vehemently against suffering Cæsar to continue in Gaul; and our friend Furnius is the only tribune whom I suspect of obstructing his measures for that purpose. You may depend upon these articles as certain; but beyond these I cannot with any assurance pronounce. Time, indeed, may produce much; as many schemes, I know, are concerted; but they all turn upon the points I have already specified. I forgot to mention, that Curio designs to make an attempt to procure a division of the lands in Campania.‡ It is pretended that Cæsar

* Curio had not as yet pulled off the mask, and declared himself openly in favour of Cæsar.

† One of the consuls elect. See p. 39. note.

‡ Cæsar, when he was consul, an. urb. 694, had procured a law for the distribution of these lands, and part of them had actually been distributed accordingly. The remaining part was what Curio had in his view, which were to be purchased of the private possessors with the public money, and parcelled out amongst the poor citizens in the same manner as those had been which were already divided. See Vol. I. p. 176. note. *Vid etiam Manut. in ep. Fam. i. 9.*

does not concern himself in this matter ; certain, however, it is, that Pompey is very desirous of having the distribution settled before Cæsar's return, that he may be precluded from applying them to his own purposes.

As to what concerns your leaving the province, I dare not promise that you shall be relieved by a successor ; but you may rely upon my endeavouring all I can that your administration shall not be prolonged. Whether you will think proper to remain in your government, if affairs should be so circumstanced as to render it indecent for me to oppose any decree of the senate for that purpose, depends upon yourself to determine, as it does upon me to remember, how warmly you made it your request when we parted, that I would prevent any such resolution from being taken. Farewell.

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 702.]

TO PUBLIUS SILIUS, PROPÆTOR.

It was with the warmest and most grateful acknowledgment of your favours, that my friend Nero assured me, you have distinguished him with every honour in your power. You may depend upon the most efficacious instances of his friendship in re-

turn, as there is not a man in the world of a more grateful and generous disposition. You have conferred, at the same time, a very singular obligation upon myself, for I know not any man amongst all our nobility, who stands higher in my esteem and affection. Your good offices to him, therefore, in the following instances, wherein he desired I would particularly request them, will be highly agreeable to me. In the first place, I beg you to defer the affair of Pausanias, an inhabitant of Alibanda, till Nero arrives in your province; and as this is a point in which I perceive he is exceedingly solicitous, it is with a proportionable degree of zeal that I entreat your compliance. The next favour I am to ask is, your particular protection for the citizens of Nysa. Nero is greatly attached to the interest of this corporation, and I hope you will shew them that nothing can be more to their advantage than his patronage. I have frequently had occasion of recommending Strabo Servilius to you, but I renew my applications with so much the more ardour, as Nero takes a share in his concerns. We jointly then entreat you to settle his affair, and not leave an innocent man to be a prey, perhaps, to one who may succeed to your government with a turn of mind far different from that generosity which distinguishes yours. This will be acting in a manner highly agreeable to myself, and suitable at the same

time to your usual humanity. In a word, the purport of my present application amounts to this; that you would, upon all occasions, continue to distinguish Nero with your most peculiar regard. The truth is, your province has, in this respect, greatly the advantage over mine, as it affords you full scope of doing honour to so noble, so ingenious, and so virtuous a youth. Your perseverance in the same generous offices with which you have thus far assisted my friend, will give him an opportunity of confirming and strengthening those illustrious clientships which have been delivered down to him from his ancestors. And let me add, that it will be placing your favours with great judgment in respect to Nero, as well as bestowing them in the most obliging manner, likewise, with regard to myself. Farewell.

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 702.]

TO CURIO, TRIBUNE OF THE PEOPLE.

THE congratulations of a friend are not usually considered as too late, if they are paid as early as possible; my great distance, therefore, from Rome, together with the slow progress with which news travels into this corner of the world, will excuse

me for not sooner sending you mine. But I now sincerely give them you, and most ardently wish that you may obtain immortal honour by your administration of the tribunate. To this end, I must exhort you not to suffer yourself to be turned aside from your natural bias, in compliance with the sentiments and advice of others; on the contrary, let me entreat you to be directed in your ministry by the faithful light of your own superior wisdom. No man, indeed, is capable of giving you more prudent counsels than will arise from the suggestions of your own good sense; and, believe me, you can never be misguided so long as you pursue the honest dictates of your uninfluenced judgment. I say not this inconsiderately, but as perfectly well knowing the genius and principles of him to whom I am addressing myself. Yes, my friend, I can never be apprehensive that you will act either weakly, or irresolutely, whilst you support the measures your heart approves. It was neither chance nor ignorance that led you to solicit this magistracy in so important a crisis. It was a deliberate and well considered resolution that engaged you in this design, and you were perfectly sensible of the great and general confusion in which the commonwealth is involved, together with the utter uncertainty in what manner these our unhappy divisions will finally be terminated. You frequently reflect,

I doubt not, on the vain, the treacherous, and the pliant dispositions of the present generation. To repeat, then, what I just now mentioned, let me conjure you stedfastly to persevere in your old principles; to consult the dictates of your own breast; and faithfully to comply with its wise and worthy admonitions. Hardly, perhaps, is any man more qualified than yourself to direct the conduct of others; none, I am sure, to steer your own. Good gods! Why am I thus prevented from being a witness of your glorious actions, and an associate in your patriot designs? The latter, I am persuaded, you are far from wanting; however, the strength and warmth of my affection might possibly render the conjunction of my counsels with yours not altogether unprofitable.

You will hear from me again very soon; as I purpose in a few days to send an express to the senate with a particular account of the success of my arms during the last summer's campaign. In the mean time, you will perceive, by the letter which I delivered to your freedman Thraso, with what zealous pains I have solicited your election to the pontifical dignity; an election, indeed, that will be attended with much difficulty. I conjure you, in return, my dear Curio, not to suffer this my very troublesome provincial administration to be lengthened out beyond the usual period, and I en-

treat it by all the strong and tender ties of our mutual friendship. When I first made this request to you in person, and several times afterwards repeated it by letter, I had not the least imagination of your being tribune. I then, indeed, only entreated your good offices as an illustrious senator, and as one who stood high in the favour and esteem of every Roman. But I now apply to Curio, not only as my noble friend, but as a powerful tribune. I do not desire, however, (what, indeed, would be more difficult to obtain,) that any thing unusual should be decreed in my favour; but, on the contrary, that you would support that decree, and maintain those laws, by which I was appointed to this government. In a word, my single and most earnest request is, that the terms upon which I set out for this province may not be changed. Farewell.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 702.]

TO THERMUS, PROPÆTOR.

I FOUND you perfectly well inclined to employ every good office in your power for my lieutenant Marcus Anneius, when I mentioned his affair to you at Ephesus. However, as my affection will

not suffer me to omit any circumstance which may tend to his advantage, I write to you in the belief that this letter will considerably add to the favourable disposition in which you already stand towards him. He has long enjoyed a share in my friendship; as, indeed, I have sufficiently shewn the good opinion I entertain of him, by having appointed him my lieutenant in preference to so many others, who solicited for that office. The war in which I was soon afterwards engaged, gave me occasion of experiencing his military abilities; and the prudence, the courage, and the fidelity with which he executed his commission, together with the extraordinary marks he gave me of his affection, have raised him to the highest possible degree of my esteem. I informed you at Ephesus, that there were some points in controversy between him and the city of Sardis;* the particulars of which you will best learn when the cause shall come before you. And here, I must confess, I have been long debating with myself what I should farther say to you. The world universally acknowledges and admires your impartial administration of justice, and my friend's claim is so well founded as to require no other protection than that of your usual equity. However, as I am sensible of the

* In Lydia.

great authority which naturally attends the Prætorian office, especially where it is exercised with so much honour, lenity, and wisdom, as are well known to distinguish your administration; I entreat you to exert that influence in such a manner, upon this occasion, as may convince Anneius that you are his friend. He is already, indeed, persuaded that you are so, and has often mentioned you to me in that character. Nevertheless, I cannot forbear conjuring you, by those reciprocal good offices which have equally passed between us, to let him see that this letter has rendered you still more inclined to serve him. Be assured, the whole extent of your provincial power cannot supply you with an opportunity of more effectually obliging me. It is unnecessary I should add, that you cannot better dispose of your favours, than by conferring them on Anneius; and I am persuaded you have too high an opinion of his merit and gratitude to entertain the least doubt upon that article. Farewell.

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 702.]

TO VOLUMNIUS.*

THE familiar manner in which your letter to me was addressed, though extremely agreeable indeed to the intimacy that subsists between us, made me at first doubt whether it did not come from my very good friend, your namesake, the senator. But I soon found, by that lively and elegant humour with which it was distinguished, that it could be the produce of no other hand than yours. I was exceedingly pleased with it in every respect, but that I perceived you had not sufficiently discharged your trust, and defended the credit of my possessions as a wit. For you tell me, that since I left

* The person to whom this letter is addressed was a Roman knight, extremely admired for his wit and pleasantry. It was this quality, it is probable, that recommended him to Antony, with whom he appears to have been in some credit; as he was likewise employed by him in the civil wars. Atticus also was in the number of Volumnius's friends; and after the battle of Modena, when Antony's faction was supposed to be irrecoverably ruined, he generously protected him from the violence of the successful party. *Ad Att.* xv. 8. *Corn. Nep. in vit. Attici.*

Rome, every paltry joke, even those of the dull Sextius himself, is placed to my account. And did you suffer your friend to be thus dishonoured, without heroically standing forth in vindication of his genius? I was in hopes that my wit was stamped with such distinguishing marks as to prevent the possibility of its being mistaken. But it seems there is such a general depravation of taste in Rome, that no man's conceits are so execrably vile, as not to meet with admirers. As you value my reputation then, assert boldly that every low thing which is repeated of this sort, is none of mine. And unless it be some smart pun, or elegant hyperbole, some striking paragram,* or some arch and unexpected turn;† in a word, unless it answers

* The hyperbole is a figure of speech by which any thing is extravagantly magnified or diminished beyond the truth; as a paragram is a species of the pun, which consists in changing the initial letters of a name. It would be needless to produce any example in explanation of the former; and an instance of the latter kind will occur to every English reader in the well-known reply which Cromwell made to the judges, when they reminded him of *Magna Charta*.

† Of this kind is what the Duke of Buckingham once said to a noble Earl; *My Lord, you will certainly be damned. How, my Lord!* returned the Earl, with some warmth. *Nay,* replied the Duke, *there's no help for it: for it is positively said, Cursed is he of whom all men speak well.* Tatler, Vol. I. No. 17.

the character of true humour,* as described in my dialogue on oratory, I desire you would do me the favour most vehemently to swear, that mine you

* Cicero, in the treatise to which he here refers, introduces one of his speakers as pointing out the principal sources of oratorical humour; among which he makes very honourable mention of the pun. There is scarce an author, indeed, of any note among the ancients, that has not, in some part or other of his writings, tried his genius at a conceit; and it is remarkable, that there is one in particular which runs through almost the whole set of Roman Classics. The first that appears to have started it is, that venerable censor, Cato the elder; who, in a grave speech recorded by Livy, taking notice of those fine statues that had been lately transported into Italy, after the conquest of Greece, expresses his concern *ne illæ magis res nos ceperint quam nos illas*. Horace was so well pleased with this witticism, that he has transplanted it into one of his epistles:

*Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes
Intulit agresti Latio.*

And even the majestic Virgil could not secure himself from the infection of this contagious ambiguity:

Num Capti potuere Capi?

a quibble, which was afterwards taken up by Quintus Curtius; though it seems to be somewhat damaged in passing through his hands; *plures captivi* (says that historian, speaking of one of Alexander's victories) *quam qui caperent, erant*.

are confident it is not. With regard to those little pretenders to eloquence, of whom you complain, as having usurped my place in the Forum, I am much less concerned. Fare it as it may with plaintiffs and defendants of every kind, I am nothing disturbed; no not though the worthless Selius himself should be deemed eloquent enough to persuade the world, that he is not an arrant slave. But in the article of wit, my friend—there, indeed, I am much too jealous not to assert my prerogative. It is an article, however, in which I stand in fear of no other competitor but yourself; for your pretensions, doubtless, are formidable. Yet when I say this, you will modestly suspect, perhaps, that I am bantering; and who but must own that Volumnius is a man of penetration? To speak seriously, a

When it is considered how early this species of false wit appeared in the world; with what difficulty it has been subdued; that some of the best writers have not been able entirely to abstain from it; and that it was the favourite of so unquestionable a genius as Cicero; one cannot forbear thinking, with the inimitable Mr Addison, “that the seeds of punning are in the minds of all men.” It is the business, therefore, of criticism, to root out a weed, which the best as well as the worst soil, it seems, is so strongly disposed to produce; as it cannot spread without checking the nobler growth of true wit and just imagination. *Cic. de orat.* ii. 38. *Liv.* xxxiv. 4. *Hor. ep.* ii. 1. 157. *Virg. Æn.* vii. 295. *Quint. Cur.* v. 13. *Addison Spect.* i. No. 61.

most agreeable and lively vein of wit runs throughout your whole letter. I will confess, however, that what you mention concerning our friend,* though you represented it in a very droll light, did not once make me smile. It is much my desire, I must own, that he should conduct himself through his tribunitial office with dignity; not only for his own sake, as you know he is a man I value, but for the sake likewise of my country; which, however ill it has treated me, I shall never cease to love.

And now, my dear Volumnius, I hope you will continue the agreeable correspondence you have begun, and give me frequent accounts of affairs both private and public; for, be assured, your letters are extremely pleasing to me. I entreat you, likewise, to endeavour to gain Dolabella entirely to my interests, by confirming him in that amicable disposition towards me, which, I know, he is inclined to entertain. Not that I suspect he wants any applications of this sort; but, as I am very desirous to make him my friend, it is a point, I think, that cannot be too much laboured. Farewell.

* This seems to allude to Curio.

LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 702.]

TO CRASSIPES. *

I TOOK occasion, before I left Rome, of recommending the Bithynia† company to you in the strongest terms I was able; and I had the pleasure to find you perfectly well disposed, not only from my instances, but your own inclinations, to do them all the good offices in your power. However, as those who are concerned in the affairs of this society, think it may be to their advantage that I should thus repeat my assurances of the regard I bear them, I make no difficulty of yielding to their solicitations. Be well persuaded then, that I have ever been desirous of rendering to this whole order, in general, my best services; to which, indeed, the important obligations they have conferred up-

* He was Quæstor in Bithynia; and, probably, at the same time when P. Silius was governor of that province. See p. 80. note.

† The revenues of the republic arising from the foreign provinces were farmed by the Roman knights, who were divided into several companies, distinguished by the name of the particular province whose taxes they rented. See Vol. I. p. 219. note.

on me, gave them an undoubted right. But my attachments are more particularly strong to that branch of them concerned in the finances of Bithynia; as this company, from the rank and character of its members, forms one of the most considerable bodies in the whole republic. It is composed, indeed, out of all the other companies, and happens to consist of several of my most intimate friends. In this number their governor Publius Rupilius holds the principal rank; the most important part of whose function is concerned in my present address. I make it then my earnest request, (and it is a request you may very easily comply with,) that you assist and protect their agent Pupius in discharging his services to the satisfaction of the company; and, in general, that you would promote their interest by all those means which, I well know, are in the power of a Quæstor. Your compliance in this instance will greatly oblige me; and I will add too, what I can affirm from my own experience, that you cannot confer your good offices upon a society that will more gratefully remember them. Farewell.

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 702.]

TO PUBLIUS SILIUS, PROPÆTOR.

PUBLIUS TERENTIUS HISPO, who is deputy-receiver-general of the customs arising from pasture and cattle in your province, is a person for whom I have a very particular friendship; as, indeed, many important good offices have mutually passed between us. The settling his accounts with the several cities under his department which yet remain unadjusted, is a point wherein his character, you are sensible, is greatly concerned. This I attempted in his behalf with regard to the inhabitants of Ephesus; but my attempts, I must confess, proved unsuccessful. It is the general opinion of the world, however, and what I am firmly assured of myself, that the justice and clemency of your administration has gained you such an ascendant over the people of Greece, that you may easily obtain of them any thing you shall request. I entreat you then to employ your interest with them in favour of Hispo; and I ask it as a point in which my honour is peculiarly concerned. The truth is, not only the whole company in this branch of the revenues has placed itself under my protection, but

I have particular intimacies with many of its members. Your compliance, therefore, with my request, will strengthen my interest with this society in general, and will also give me the satisfaction and credit of having obtained your good offices for my friend. To this I will add, that you may depend on receiving great complacency, both from the grateful returns of Hispo in particular, and from the interest you will establish with this illustrious company in general. You will likewise oblige me in a most sensible manner; for, be assured, the whole extent of your government cannot supply you with an opportunity of rendering me a more acceptable service. Farewell.

LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK FIFTH.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 703.]

TO MARCUS CATO.*

THE great authority you bear in the republic, together with the high esteem I have ever entertained for your uncommon virtues, make me look upon it as a point of much consequence to me, that

* This illustrious Roman was great-grandson to Marcus Cato the Censor ; to whom he was no less allied in virtue than in blood. He had all his merit, indeed, without any of his failings ; and with the same determined inflexibility in his public conduct, he was far more amiable in the common

you should be apprized of the success of my arms; of the disinterested protection I have given to our allies; and of the integrity of my administration in general. And I doubt not, when you shall be in-

intercourses of private life. Perhaps a character equally perfect, is no where to be found in the whole annals of profane history; and it may well be questioned, whether *human* philosophy ever produced, either before or since, so truly great and good a man. It is a just observation of Seneca, *magnum rem puta, unum hominem agere*: and it is this uncommon consistency of action, that marks the character of Cato with its most distinguishing beauty. All the parts of his conduct accord with each other, and are the regular result of one steady and invariable principle:

—————*Patriæ—impendere vitam:*
Nec sibi, sed toti genitum se credere mundo.

This was the glorious object of his ambition from his first appearance in the world to the last moment of his life; and he undauntedly pursued it through all the various insults and opposition that Cæsar, Crassus, and Pompey, could contrive to traverse and perplex his way. He resolutely, indeed, opposed the progress of their power in every step of its unconstitutional advancement; and, with a most consummate prudence, perpetually forewarned his countrymen of those calamities which they afterwards experienced. Cicero, nevertheless, has said, (and it has been often repeated after him,) that there was more of probity than of prudence in Cato's politics; and particularly instances his treatment of the Roman knights in a very nice case, wherein they peti-

formed of these several articles, I shall find the less difficulty in persuading you to comply with the request I am going to make.

I arrived in this province on the last of July; and as the season of the year rendered it necessary for me to hasten to the army, I continued only

tioned the senate for redress. See Vol. I. p. 120. note. Perhaps Cato's firmness in this article cannot be justified; but certainly it would not be reasonable to pronounce, from a particular article, that he did not, in the general tenor of his public actions, discover great abilities. Cicero speaks of them, it is true, upon other occasions also, with some diminution; but it is no wonder he should represent that conduct as injudicious, which was almost, in every respect, the very reverse of his own. One cannot easily, indeed, believe that Cato's talents were unequal to his virtues, when one considers the perpetual jealousy with which he was looked upon by the first triumvirate; the violent measures they employed to prevent his being elected prætor; and that they would never suffer him to attain the consular office. Integrity under the direction of much inferior abilities, could not, surely, have been thus formidable; especially in an age the most venal and unprincipled that ever darkened the annals of human corruption. But whatever may be determined as to the measure of his intellectual qualities, he unquestionably possessed the patriot virtues in their highest perfection; and (as a noble author justly observes) "if he
" could not save, he prolonged the life of liberty."—*Plut. in vit. Caton. Senec. ep. 120. Lucan. ii. 382. Ad Att. i. 18. 11. 5. Let. on the Spirit of Patriotism, p. 35.*

two days at Laodicea, four at Apamea, three at Synnadæ, and as many at Philomelum. I found great numbers of people assembled in these several towns, in expectation of my arrival; and, during my stay in each, I relieved many cities from the oppressive taxes they laboured under, reduced the exorbitant interest they paid for the money they had been obliged to borrow, and discharged them from the unjust demands of their usurious creditors. Before I arrived in my government, a mutiny had arisen in the army, and the soldiers had dispersed themselves into different parts of the provinces; five cohorts, in particular, were retired to Philomelum, without a single officer to command them. I therefore ordered my lieutenant Anneius to conduct these scattered regiments to the main body in Lycaonia, and to assemble the whole army at Iconium, where I directed him to encamp. These orders he very diligently executed; and I joined the troops on the 26th of August. In the interval, I employed myself, agreeably to the injunctions of the senate, in raising a strong body of Evocati,* together with a proper number of cavalry, as also in assembling those auxiliary forces, which the free as well as regal states in alliance with the republic had voluntarily offered me. As soon as the

* See p. 54. note.

junction of all the troops was completed, I reviewed the whole army; and on the 30th of August we began to move towards Cilicia. In the mean time, envoys from the king of Commagene arrived, with a very confused indeed, but however, as it appeared afterwards, a very true account, that the Parthians had invaded Syria. This news greatly alarmed me, not only for the danger to which that province, but my own, was exposed; and which threatened, likewise, all Asia in general. I thought it advisable, therefore, to lead my troops through that part of Cappadocia which borders on Cilicia. If, indeed, I had marched directly into Cilicia, I could easily have protected that district of my province from any invasion on the side of Syria; as it cannot be entered from thence without traversing Mount Amanus, over which there are only two narrow defiles, that might be defended by a very small force. In short, nothing can be more impregnable than Cilicia is from that quarter, by the fortifications with which nature has secured it. But my chief concern was for Cappadocia, which lies entirely open towards Syria; and besides, there are several little kingdoms in its neighbourhood, which, though in friendship with the Romans, yet dare not openly act against the Parthians. These considerations, therefore, determined me to lie with my army on the borders of Cappadocia; and, accord-

ingly, I encamped at Cybistra, a town situated not far from Mount Taurus. By these means, I was in a condition of protecting Cilicia, at the same time that, by possessing myself of Cappadocia, I prevented the contiguous states from entering into any measures to our prejudice.

Whilst affairs were in this commotion, and there was reason to apprehend a general war, king Deiotarus sent an embassy to my camp, with an offer of joining me with all his forces. I was extremely sensible of this instance of his zeal and friendship; and immediately returned him a letter of acknowledgments, with my pressing exhortation at the same time, that he would hasten his march. I cannot but observe, upon this occasion, that Deiotarus justly merits those peculiar marks of favour and esteem with which both you and I, in particular, as well as the senate in general, have ever distinguished him. He discovers, indeed, a remarkable fidelity and affection to the republic, together with an uncommon presence and greatness of mind both in action and in council.

I found it necessary, for the better concerting my plan of operations, to continue five days at Cybistra. During my stay there, I had the satisfaction to be of singular service to Ariobarzanes; a prince particularly assigned to my protection by the senate, in consequence of your motion for that

purpose. I delivered him from a very dangerous conspiracy, which was just upon the point of being carried into execution. I did more, indeed; and not only preserved his person, but strengthened his authority. For this purpose, I procured Metras and Athenæus, (the latter of whom you strongly recommended to my care,) not only to be recalled from that exile, into which the intrigues of the cruel Athenais had driven them, but to be restored to their former favour and credit with the king. And as it would have produced a very terrible civil war, if the high priest, * who was among the disaffected party, had taken up arms, as was generally supposed to be his intention, I found means of obliging him to depart the kingdom. This young man abounded both in money and troops, and possessed every other advantage that could render him of importance to those who were inclined to attempt a revolution.--- In a word, I recovered the authority of Ariobarzanes, without occasioning the least bloodshed or disturbance, and firmly established him in his royal dignity.

In the mean time, I was informed, by various

* It appears, by a passage which Manutius cites from Hirtius, that the high priest of the temple of Bellona, at Commana, a city in Cappadocia, was next in rank and power to the king himself.—*Hirt. de Bel. Alexand.*

expresses, that a considerable army of Parthians and Arabians were advanced to the city of Antiochia; * and that a large body of their cavalry, which had penetrated into Cilicia, were entirely cut to pieces by a detachment of mine, supported by the prætorian† cohort in garrison at Epiphanea. ‡ Perceiving, therefore, that the Parthians had turned off from Cappadocia, and were approached within a small distance of the frontiers of Cilicia, I conducted the army with all possible expedition to Amanus. Upon my arrival, I found the enemy was retired from Antiochia, and that Bibulus had taken possession of the city. I sent an express, therefore, to Deiotarus, who was upon full march with all his forces to join me, acquainting him, that I did not at present see occasion of drawing him out of his dominions; but that if any new occurrence should arise, I would immediately give him notice.

My principal view in advancing to Amanus was, that I might be ready to assist either Cilicia or Syria, as circumstances should require. I had like-

* In Syria.

† The prætorian cohort composed a sort of body-guard to the proconsul, or general; and consisted of a select number chosen out of the Evocati. The nature of the latter has been already explained in p. 54. note.

‡ A city in Cilicia.

wise another design, which I had before meditated, and now prepared to execute, as being of great importance to both provinces; I mean to quell the insurrection of these highlanders, and extirpate an enemy that was perpetually infesting us. To this end, I made a feint of retiring towards another part of Cilicia; and, having actually returned a day's march, I encamped at Epiphanea. But, on the 12th of October, in the evening, I struck my tents, and, by a long march during the whole night, I arrived early the next morning at Amanus. I immediately formed in order of battle, heading part of the troops myself, in conjunction with my brother, and distributing the command of the rest amongst my other lieutenants. The enemy being thus surrounded by surprise, were taken and destroyed in great numbers. Meanwhile, my lieutenant Pontinius attacked Sepyra, Commoris, and Erana; the latter of which is the principal town on these mountains, and indeed considerable enough to be called a city. They each made a very obstinate resistance; and, notwithstanding the attack began before day-break, they did not surrender till night, nor without having suffered a prodigious slaughter. In this action we took six fortresses, and burnt many more. *L. h. m.*

Having thus successfully completed this expedition, we encamped at the foot of Mount Amanus,

near Alexander's* altars, where I continued four days. During the whole time I remained here, I was employed in extirpating the rest of these mountaineers, and destroying that part of their lands which lies within my province. From hence I sat down before Pindinessum; a city in the territories of that part of Cilicia which has never submitted to the Romans. This was a place of great strength, and inhabited by a stubborn people, who had preserved themselves unconquered, even by the neighbouring kings. It was a harbour, likewise, for fugitives of every kind; and they were greatly, also, in the interest of the Parthians, whose approach they impatiently expected. Upon these considerations, I thought it for the honour of my arms to restrain their insolence; especially as I should, by this means, the more easily subdue the spirit of those other cantons which were equally averse to the Roman government. In consequence of this resolution, I invested the town; and, having raised six large fortresses, I began to play my battering engines against their walls. They held out, however, fifty-seven days; but, at length, finding the flames had seized several parts of the town, and that other

* A place near Issus, where Alexander, having defeated Darius, consecrated three altars to Jupiter, Hercules, and Minerva, as memorials of his victory.—*Quint. Curt.*

quarters were laid in ruins, they surrendered at discretion, after having occasioned me an infinite fatigue. I had the satisfaction to complete this enterprise, without occasioning our allies the least inconvenience or expence. After having thus reduced Pindinessum, and received hostages from the Tiburani, a neighbouring people equally bold and insolent, I sent my army into winter-quarters. This care I assigned to my brother, and ordered him to canton the troops amongst those towns we had lately taken, or that were most disposed to revolt.

And now, if a motion should be made in the senate concerning the honours due to the success of my arms, I shall esteem it the highest glory to be supported in my pretensions by your suffrage. I am sensible it is usual for the gravest characters to request, as well as to be requested, for favours of this nature, in the strongest terms; but I persuade myself it will be more proper for me to remind, than to solicit you, in the present instance. You have frequently, indeed, not only distinguished me with your vote, but with your highest applause, both in the senate and in the assemblies of the people.* And, believe me, I have ever thought there

* Cicero, soon after the expiration of his consulate, had very particular obligations to Cato of the kind he mentions. For the latter, being tribune at that time, procured him a

was so much weight and authority in all you uttered, that a single word of yours in my favour was the highest honour I could possibly receive. I remember, upon a certain occasion, when you refused to vote for a public thanksgiving,* which was proposed in favour of a very worthy and illustrious citizen; you told the senate, that you should willingly have given your suffrage in support of the honour in question, had it been designed as a reward for any civil services which that consul had performed in Rome. Agreeably to this maxim, you formerly concurred in voting that a public thanksgiving should be decreed to me; not, indeed, for having advanced the glory of our country by my military achievements, (for that would have been a circumstance nothing uncommon,) but for having, in a most singular and unexampled manner, preserved the liberties of the whole commonwealth† without drawing a sword. I forbear to mention the

confirmation from an assembly of the people, of the glorious title of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY.—*Plut. in vit. Cic.*

* This honour was usually decreed to a general after some signal advantage obtained by his arms. It consisted in appointing a solemn festival, in order to return thanks to the gods for the public success; at which time the senate went in solemn procession to the principal temples in Rome, and assisted at the sacrifices instituted for such occasions.

† By the suppression of Catiline's conspiracy.

generous share you have taken in all the envy, the difficulties, and the dangers to which my life has been exposed; and a far greater you were willing to have taken, if I could have been prevailed upon to have consented. I forbear to mention, likewise, that you considered my enemy * as your own; and that, in order to give me a convincing proof of your great regard, you scrupled not to shew your approbation even of his death, by defending Milo in the senate. In return, (and I speak of it, not as a favour for which you are indebted to me, but as a tribute which I owed to truth,) I have been no silent admirer of your virtues; for who, indeed, can suppress his applause of them? In all my speeches, both in the forum and the senate, as well as in the several pieces I have published, either in our own language or in Greek, I have ever represented your character as superior, not only to the noblest amongst our contemporaries, but to the most celebrated in history.

After all, you will wonder, perhaps, what should induce me to set so high a value upon these little transient honours of the senate. I will acknowledge, then, the whole truth, and lay open my heart before you, with a freedom becoming that philosophy we cultivate, and that friendship we profess;

* Clodius.

a friendship delivered down to us from our parents, and improved by many reciprocal good offices.

Let me previously observe, that, if ever any man was a stranger to vain-glory, and a desire of vulgar admiration, it is myself; and this frame of mind, which I possess by temper, has been still strengthened (if I am not deceived) by reason and philosophy. As an evidence of this, I appeal to my consulate; in which, as in every other part of my life, though I pursued that conduct, I confess, from whence true honours might be derived, yet I never thought they were of themselves an object worthy of my ambition. On the contrary, I refused the government of a very noble province;* and, notwithstanding it was highly probable I might have obtained a triumph, yet I forebore to prosecute my pretensions of that kind. I forebore, too, the offering myself as a candidate for the office of augur; though you are sensible, I dare say, that I might have succeeded without much difficulty. But I will acknowledge, that the injurious treatment I afterwards suffered, though you always speak of it, indeed, as a circumstance which reflects the highest honour upon my character, and as a misfortune only

* Macedonia; to which he had a right, by lot, to have succeeded at the expiration of his consulate. See Vol. I. p. 10. note.

to the republic, has rendered me desirous of receiving the most distinguished marks of my country's approbation. For this reason, I solicited the office of augur, which I had before declined; and, as little as I once thought the military honours deserved my pursuit, I am now ambitious of that distinction which the senate usually confers on its successful generals. I will own I have some view, by this mean, of healing the wounds of my former unmerited disgrace; and, therefore, though I just now declared, that I would not press you upon this article, I recal my words, and most earnestly conjure your suffrage and assistance. I make this request, however, upon the supposition, that what I have performed in this campaign shall not appear contemptible in your eye, but, on the contrary, far superior to the actions of many of those generals who have obtained the most glorious rewards from the senate.

I have observed, (and, you are sensible, I always listen with great attention whenever you deliver your opinions,) that, as often as any question of this nature has come before the senate, you were less inquisitive into the military than civil conduct of the præconsul. It was the political ordinances he had established, and the moral qualities he had displayed, that seemed to have the principal weight in determining your vote. If you should examine

my pretensions in this view, you will see, that, with a weak and inconsiderable army, I found a strong resource against the danger of a very formidable invasion in the lenity and justice of my government. By these aids, I effected what I never could by the most powerful legions: I recovered the friendship of our alienated allies; firmly strengthened their allegiance to the republic; and conciliated their affections at a time when they were waiting the opportunity of some favourable conjuncture to desert us.

But perhaps I have expatiated farther upon this subject than is necessary; especially to you, before whom all our allies in general are accustomed to lay their complaints.* To them, therefore, I refer you for an account of the benefits they have received by my administration. They will all of them, as with one voice, I am persuaded, give you the most advantageous testimony in my favour; but particularly those illustrious clients of yours, the

* Cato settled a correspondence throughout the whole Roman provinces, and received constant intelligence of the conduct of the several governors in their respective commands; so attentive was this vigilant patriot to whatever concerned the interest of the commonwealth.—*Plut. in vit. Caton.*

Cyprians* and Cappadocians, to whom I may likewise add your great and royal friend, prince Dei-

† Cyprus had a particular claim to the patronage of Cato, as he had been employed in executing a commission by which that island was annexed to the dominions of the republic. This commission was artfully contrived by Clodius in his tribunate, in order to remove Cato out of his way; but the precise nature of it is nowhere distinctly explained. It should seem, by what may be collected from Plutarch, that it was only an embassy in which Cato was appointed to claim, on behalf of the republic, the dominions of Ptolemy king of Cyprus, and to offer him, at the same time, the high-priesthood of the temple of Venus, in the ~~island~~ of Paphos, which, in those days, might have *been* been no disadvantageous exchange. Cato, however, has been severely censured by some modern historians, for having accepted this office; and Dr Middleton, in particular, thinks he cannot be justified. But none of the ancient historians speak of it as in the least unworthy of Cato's virtue; and, indeed, one of the most moral writers in all antiquity mentions it upon an occasion, which evidently shews that it was by no means thought inconsistent with that character of rigid justice which this illustrious Roman had so deservedly obtained. Seneca, in his letter of consolation, addressed to Marcia, on the loss of her son, taking notice of the advantages of an early death, instances, among other examples, those calamities which a more extended period had brought upon Cato.—*Marcum Catonem*, says he, *si a Cypro et hereditatis regiæ dispensatione redeuntem mare devorasset, — nonne illo bene actum foret? — Nunc annorum adjectio paucissimorum, virum libertati non suæ tantum sed pub-*

otarus.* If thus to act is a merit of the most superior kind; if, in all ages, the number has been far

licæ natum, coegit Cæsarem fugere, Pompeium sequi. It is evident, then, that this action was so far from being deemed unjustifiable in the opinion of the ancients, (by which alone it can be fairly examined,) that the noblest of their moralists has chosen it to complete the glory, and grace the exit of his favourite hero. It must unquestionably, therefore, have been founded upon some circumstances that reconciled it to that law of nations which then prevailed in the world. Accordingly, it appears, by some passages in Cicero's orations, that the republic had an ancient claim to these dominions; for Alexander, king of Egypt, to whose territories Cyprus belonged, appointed the Roman commonwealth his general heir; and though the senate did not judge proper, at that juncture, to assert their full right under his will, they thought it, however, a sufficient title to possess themselves of Alexander's effects. From that time down to the date of Cato's commission, frequent attempts had been made in the senate to enforce their right under the will; and a decree had actually passed for that purpose. But as this decree was protested against by some tribunes, it had never been carried into execution. Thus far it should seem that Cato's commission was not founded upon a mere arbitrary exertion of power, but on a right which had long before received the sanction of the senate, and which had already in part been vindicated to the public. In the next place, the inhabitants of Cyprus were extremely oppressed under the government of Ptolemy, and desirous of transferring their subjection to the Romans. Paterculus represents this prince as one who well deserved the punishment he suffered; *omnibus*

less considerable of those who knew how to subdue their desires, than to vanquish their enemies; he, that has given an instance of both, cannot certainly but be deemed, in Cato's estimation at least, to

morum vitiis, says he, *eam contumeliam meritum*. And Dion Cassius expressly declares, that the Cyprians received Cato, “ *οὐκ ἀνεύσμως*, hoping that, from slaves, as they were before, they should be raised into the number of the friends and allies of Rome.” But, to consider this question in another view: what probable reason of personal interest can be assigned for Cato's undertaking this office? It could not be from a spirit of avarice; for it is unanimously confessed, that he discharged it with the most unspotted integrity. It could not be from a motive of ambition; for he refused all the honours, upon this occasion, which his country would have paid him. It could not be from a servile compliance with the power of Clodius; for he died rather than submit even to that of Cæsar. Upon the whole, therefore, it seems reasonable to assert, that Cato acted in this instance, as in all others, upon a principle of disinterested patriotism, and consistently with the strictest maxims of Pagan morality.—*Plut. in vit Caton. Orat. in Rul. i. l. 11. 16. Vel. Paterc. ii. 45. Dio, p. 101. Senec. Consol. ad Marc. 20.*

* Cato took a voyage into Asia, in order to inform himself of the strength and disposition of these eastern provinces; and it was upon this occasion that he entered into a personal friendship with Deiotarus, who paid him the honours of his court with singular marks of esteem and consideration.—*Plut. in vit. Caton.*

have strengthened his claim to the honours of his country, and to have improved the splendour of his military achievements, by the more unusual lustre of his civil conduct.

Let me, in the last place, and as in diffidence of my own solicitations, call in philosophy for my advocate; than which nothing has ever afforded me a more sensible satisfaction. The truth is, she is one of the noblest blessings that the gods have bestowed on man. At her shrine we have both of us, from our earliest years, paid our joint and equal adorations; and while she has been thought by some the companion only of indolent and secluded speculatists, we (and we alone, I had almost said) have introduced her into the world of business, and familiarized her with the most active and important scenes. She, therefore, it is that now solicits you in my behalf; and when Philosophy is the suppliant, Cato, surely, can never refuse. To say all in one word, be well assured, if I should prevail with you to concur in procuring a decree I so much wish to obtain, I shall consider myself as wholly indebted for that honour to your authority and friendship. Farewell.

LETTER II.

[A. U. 703.]

MARCUS CATO TO CICERO.

THE affection I bear both to you and to the republic, induces me, very sincerely, to rejoice in finding that you exercise the same integrity and vigilance in the conduct of our arms abroad, as distinguished your administration of our most important affairs at home. I have, therefore, paid your actions that honour which was most consistent with my judgment; and in speaking to this question before the senate, as well as afterwards, when I assisted in drawing up the decree that has passed in your favour, I applauded the probity and prudence with which you have protected your province, preserved the crown and person of Ariobarzanes, and conciliated the affections of our allies in general.

If you rather choose, however, that we should ascribe to the gods those advantages which the republic has gained entirely by your own consummate wisdom and probity, I am glad the senate has passed a decree for that purpose. But if you are willing that fortune should have the credit of your actions, as supposing a public thanksgiving necessarily opens your way to a triumph, I must observe,

that the latter is not always a consequence of the former. Yet, granting it were, is it not far more to the honour of a general, to have it declared, by a vote of the senate, that he preserved his province by the mildness and equity of his administration, than that he owed it either to the strength of his troops, or to the peculiar interposition of Providence? Such, at least, were my sentiments, when this question came before the house; and if I have employed more words than usual in explaining them, it was from a desire of convincing you, that, though I proposed to the senate what I thought would be most for the advantage of your reputation, I rejoice that they have determined what is most agreeable to your wishes. I have only to request the continuance of your friendship, and to entreat you steadily to persevere in those paths of integrity which you have hitherto pursued, both in respect to our allies and the republic.* Farewell.

* This letter (to speak in the virtuoso language) is an *unique*, and extremely valuable, as being the only composition that has been transmitted to us from the hands of Cato. It confirms what Plutarch expressly asserts, that Cato's manners were by no means of a rough and unpolished cast, as no refusal could have been drawn up in more decent and civil terms. A judicious eye, however, cannot but discern through this veil of politeness, the nice touches of a delicate and concealed raillery, which Cicero, nevertheless,

LETTER III.

[A. U. 703.]

TO CAIUS MARCELLUS,* CONSUL.

NOTHING could be more agreeable to my wishes, than that the question, concerning the honours due to my military services, should come before the senate at a time when you are consul, as it will afford you an opportunity of gratifying that uncommon zeal for my interests, which I have upon all occasions experienced from every branch of your family. Let me entreat you, therefore, when the letter I have addressed to the senate shall be laid before that assembly, to exert your influence in procuring a decree in my favour of the most distinguished kind. I persuade myself, you will find no difficulty in complying with this request; as the senate, I trust, will by no means be averse to my pretensions. If there were any of your family, whose friendship I enjoyed in a higher degree than yours, I should have applied to you by their intervention. But, though no man ever entered more warmly in-

thought proper to dissemble, as will appear by his answer to this letter in the following Book. See Book vi. let. 10.

* See p. 37. note.

to my interests than your father; though the esteem which your relation Marcus Marcellus has long entertained for me, is conspicuous to the whole world; and, in a word, though all your family in general have ever honoured me with the most signal marks of their regard, yet there is not one of them who hath afforded me stronger instances of affection than yourself. I conjure you, then, to distinguish me with the highest honours; and let me experience, in the affair of my thanksgiving, as well as in every other wherein the glory of my reputation is concerned, that I want no solicitor to recommend me to your good offices. Farewell.

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 703.]

TO LUCIUS PAULUS,* CONSUL.

AMONG many reasons for wishing myself with you at Rome, the principal was, that I might, both at your election, and in the course of your consular ministry, have given you proofs of that zeal to which you have so undoubted a right. I am sensible, at the same time, that the unanimity with which you were chosen, (and of which, indeed, I never enter-

* See p. 39. note.

tained the least doubt,) would have rendered my assistance in that article altogether unnecessary; and I sincerely wish you may have as little occasion for it in the subsequent discharge of your office. However, I should have had the satisfaction, at least, of seconding your views in both. It is a great concern to me, I confess, when I reflect, that, notwithstanding I experienced many important instances of your affection during my consulship, I am yet utterly incapable of making any return in *yours*. And what renders this reflection still more mortifying, is, that you were but a young man when you thus generously displayed the effects of *your* friendship; whereas, I am at a time of life when much greater advantages might well be expected from *mine*. I know not, in truth, by what fatality it is, that you have continually had opportunities of advancing *my* dignities, and that I have never been able to contribute any thing but ineffectual good wishes to *yours*. Thus, as not only in the instance I just now mentioned, but in the article of my restoration, I was indebted to you for the highest honours; so a fresh occasion now presents itself to you of distinguishing me, as my military achievements have happened to fall within the period of your consulate. The dignity of that office with which you are invested, and the importance of those honours I am suing for, might well re-

quire that I should address you in all the warmth of solicitation ; but I dare not venture thus to press you, lest it should look as if I forgot, or at least imagined that you had forgotten, your usual disposition to serve me. I will make my request, therefore, in few words ; and it will be treating you in a manner more agreeable, I dare say, to your own inclinations, as well as to those favours which all the world is sensible I have received at your hands. If any others, indeed, than you and your colleague, were in possession of the consular office, you are the first man whose mediation I should have employed in order to render the consuls favourable to my pretensions. But as this high authority is vested in you, with whom I have the strongest and most conspicuous connexions, I cannot scruple to conjure your assistance in speedily procuring a decree of the most illustrious kind in my favour ; an honour which you will find, by the letter I have addressed to the senate, that my arms are not unworthy of receiving. I recommend, then, my reputation, and indeed my concerns of every sort, to your generous patronage. But, above all, I beseech you, (and it is a request I mentioned in my former letter,) that you would not suffer the time of my continuance here to be prolonged. It is much my desire, in truth, to see you in your consular office ; and I doubt not of obtaining from your

administration, every advantage, both here and in Italy, that I most wish to enjoy. Farewell,

LETTER V.

[A. U. 703.]

MARCUS CÆLIUS TO CICERO.

You have been informed, I doubt not, that Dolabella has exhibited articles of impeachment against Appius;* and this prosecution seems to be more agreeable to the world in general than I imagined. Appius, however, has acted with great prudence upon the occasion; for, as soon as his adversary had lodged his information, he withdrew his petition for a triumph, and immediately entered the city.† By these means he silenced the reports to his disadvantage; as he appeared more willing to take his trial than his prosecutor expected. Appius relies greatly in this conjuncture upon your assistance; and I am persuaded you are not disinclined

* He was prosecuted by Dolabella in two distinct impeachments. The first was, for being guilty of treason in his government of Cilicia; and the other, for bribery and corruption in his election to the consulate.—*Ep. Fam.* iii. 11.

† See p. 84. note.

to serve him. You have it now in your power* to do so, as far as you shall think proper; though, I must add, you would be more at liberty to limit your good offices towards him, if you and he had never been upon ill terms together. But, as the case now stands, were you to measure out your services by the right he has to demand them, it might be suspected that you were not sincere in your reconciliation; whereas, you can hazard no censure by obliging him; as you will shew, that you are not to be discouraged from acting a generous part, even where friendship† might incline you to the contrary. This reminds me of acquainting you, that Dolabella's wife obtained a divorce just upon the commencement of this prosecution. I remember the commission‡ you left me when you set out

* As one of Dolabella's impeachments against Appius was for his mal-practices in Cilicia, it was extremely in the power of Cicero to serve Appius in those examinations which were necessary to be taken in his province.

† To Dolabella.

‡ It seems probable, from this passage, that there was some prospect of a divorce between Dolabella and his wife before Cicero left Rome; and that the latter had commissioned Cœlius, in case this event should happen, to take some measures for procuring a match between Dolabella and his daughter Tullia. There will be occasion to make great use of this circumstance in a note upon a letter in the

for the province; as, I dare say, you have not forgotten what I afterwards wrote to you concerning that affair. I have not time to enlarge upon it at present; only let me advise you, how much soever you may relish the scheme, to wait the event of this trial before you discover your sentiments. If, indeed, your inclinations should be known, it will raise a very invidious clamour against you; and, should you give Dolabella the least intimation of them, they will certainly become more public than will be convenient either for your interest or your honour. He would undoubtedly be unable to conceal a circumstance so advantageous to his present views, and which would give so much credit to the prosecution in which he is engaged; and, I am persuaded, he would scarce refrain from making it the subject of his conversation, notwithstanding he were sure the discovery would prove to his prejudice. Pompey, I am told, interests himself extremely in behalf of Appius; insomuch, that it is generally imagined he has a design of sending one of his sons in order to solicit you in his favour. Mean while, we are in the humour here of acquitting all criminals; nothing, in truth, so base or so villainous can be perpetrated, that is not sure of escaping

following Book; and, therefore, it is here pointed out for the reader's particular observation. See Book vi. let. 1.

punishment. You will perceive how wonderfully active our consuls are in their office, when I tell you, that they have not yet been able to procure a single decree of the senate, except one for appointing the Latian* festivals. Even our friend Curio has not hitherto acted with any spirit in his tribunate; as indeed it is impossible to describe the general indolence that has seized us. If it were not for my contests with the vintners and the surveyors of the public aqueducts, all Rome would appear in a profound lethargy. In short, I know not to what degree the Parthians may have animated *you*; but as for us, in this part of the world, we are fast asleep. But, how much soever we may want to be awakened, I hope it will not be by the Parthians. It is reported, nevertheless, though I know not on what foundation, that they have gained some slight advantage over the troops of Bibulus, near Mount Amanus.

Since I wrote the above, I must recal what I said concerning Curio; the cold fit is at length expelled, by the *warmth* of those censures to which the levity of his conduct has exposed him. For, not being able to carry his point with respect to the intercalation,† he has deserted the interest of the senate,

* This festival was instituted by Tarquin, in memory of his conquest of Etruria.

† See Vol. I. p. 289. note.

and harangued the people in favour of Cæsar.* He threatens, likewise, to propose a Viarian law, somewhat of the same tendency with the Agrarian one which was formerly attempted by Rullus;† as al-

* It has already been observed, in the course of these notes, that Curio secretly favoured the interest of Cæsar, at the same time that he affected to act in concert with the friends of the senate. But circumstances being now mature for throwing aside the mask, he seized the first opportunity of quarrelling with his party. With this view, he applied to the pontifical college for an intercalation, in order to lengthen out the period of his tribunitial ministry. This he knew would not be granted, as having before raised, it is probable, some suspicion of his real designs. The refusal, however, furnished him with the pretence he wanted, and gave a colour (such as it was) to the desertion he had long meditated.—*Dio*, p. 149.

† Rullus was tribune of the people in the consulate of Cicero, by whose address and eloquence the law which Rullus attempted to introduce was rejected. “ These laws
“ (as Dr Middleton observes) “ used to be greedily received by the populace, and were proposed, therefore, by
“ factious magistrates, as oft as they had any point to carry with the multitude against the public good; but this
“ law (of Rullus) was, of all others, the most extravagant,
“ and, by a shew of granting more to the people than had
“ ever been given before, seemed likely to be accepted.
“ The purpose of it was, to create a decemvirate, or ten
“ commissioners, with absolute power for five years over
“ all the revenues of the republic, to distribute them at
“ pleasure to the citizens; to sell and buy what lands they

so another, empowering the Ædiles to distribute corn among the people.

If you should determine (as I think you ought) to employ your good offices in behalf of Appius, I beg you would take that opportunity of recommending me to his favour. Let me prevail with you, likewise, not to declare yourself with respect to Dolabella; as your leaving that point at large will be of singular importance, not only to the affair I hint at, but also in regard to the opinion the world will entertain of your justice and honour.

Will it not be a high reflection upon you, if I should not be furnished with some Grecian panthers? Farewell.

“thought fit; to determine the rights of the principal
“possessors; to require an account from all the generals
“abroad, except Pompey, of the spoils taken in their
“wars; to settle colonies wheresoever they judged proper, and particularly at Capua; and, in short, to command all the money and forces in the empire.”—*Life of Tully*, i. 161. 8vo edit.

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 703.]

FROM THE SAME.

I KNOW not how soon you may wish to resign your government; but, for my own part, my impatience for your return is in proportion to the good fortune that has hitherto attended your arms.--- Whilst you continue in the province, therefore, I shall be under perpetual apprehensions, lest some unlucky reverse should damp the joy I take in your late successful expedition.

I have time to write but a very few words, as I convey this by the hands of the courier to the farmers of the revenue, who is just setting out; and, indeed, I sent you a long letter yesterday by your freedman. Nothing has since occurred worth communicating; unless you should have curiosity enough to think (as I imagine you will) that the following articles deserve notice. In the first place, then, Cornificius is upon the point of being married to the youngest daughter of Sylla; and, in the next, Paula Valeria, on the very day her husband was expected from his government, procured a divorce, without alleging the least cause. She is to be married to Decimus Brutus. Several very extraordina-

ry incidents of the same kind have happened during your absence. But would you have suspected, that Servius Ocella was so well with the ladies, as to have been twice discovered in close gallantry within the space of three short days? If you ask me, where the scene of this amorous adventure was laid? In sad truth, my friend, where I least wished; but for the rest, I leave you to enquire of others.* And a pleasant piece of intelligence it will be for our noble general to learn, in whose fair quarters the luckless Ocella was seized! Farewell.

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 703.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

I WILL answer your letter more fully than I can at present, the very first moment I shall have more leisure. In the mean while, I snatch the opportunity of sending this by the hands of some domestics of Brutus, who just now called upon me at Laodicea, and are returning with all expedition to

* One would almost suspect, from the reserved manner in which Cœlius relates this adventure, that he had *a staring reason on his brow*, (as the poet humorously calls it,) for not being more explicit.

Rome. They are in so much haste, that I have only time to write this, and another to Brutus.

The deputies from Apamea delivered your long letter to me, wherein you very unjustly accuse me of having obstructed, by my mandates, the public monument* which that city proposed to raise. You desire I would suffer them to proceed immediately upon the execution of that design, lest they should be prevented by the winter; and very severely reproach me for having suspended the assessments for that purpose till I should be able to enquire into the justice of raising them. This, you tell me, was in some sort an absolute prohibition; since the winter would necessarily be set in, before I could return out of Cilicia in order to examine into that affair. Having thus stated the several articles of

* It was usual with these Asiatic provinces, to consecrate temples to their Roman governors, and associate them with the gods in the same common ceremonies of religious worship. Probably, therefore, the building which the city of Apamea proposed to erect, was some compliment to Appius of this sacred kind. The very ingenious Monsieur Mongault has shewn, in a learned dissertation which he read before the Royal Academy of *Belles Lettres* at Paris, that the divine honours, which were paid to the Roman Emperors, were only a continuance of the same infamous prostitution which had been practised during the times of the republic. *Plut. in vit. Flamin. Memoires de litterat. Vol. I. p. 369.*

your charge, I will now shew you that they are altogether unreasonable. In the first place, then, as I had received complaints on the part of those who thought themselves aggrieved by excessive taxes, where was the injustice, if I forbade these subsidies to be levied till I could examine into the merits of the case? But this, it seems, I could not be able to effect, till the winter. Yet why not? let me ask: since it was the part of those who made these complaints to wait upon me, rather than mine to attend them. But you will object, perhaps, to the reasonableness of laying these people under the difficulty of taking so long a journey. Yet this journey you yourself must necessarily have designed they should take, when you gave them your letter to deliver to me. And deliver it they accordingly did; but they timed it so absurdly, that though it was to desire they might be permitted to begin their work during the summer, they did not bring it to me till that season was expired. I must acquaint you, however, that far the greater part of these very citizens are averse to the levying this tax in question; nevertheless, I shall take such measures, for that purpose, as I imagine will prove most agreeable to your inclinations. And thus much for this Apamean business.

I am informed, by Pausanias, a freedman of Len-

tulus, and one of my accensors,* that you complain to him of my having treated you with great haughtiness and incivility by not coming to meet you in your approach to Iconium. The fact, however, is this: I received a message from you late at night, acquainting me that you proposed to give me an interview in that city before the next morning; but your servant could not inform me which of the two roads you intended to take. In order, therefore, that I might be ready to attend you, I dispatched your friend Varro, together with Lepta, the captain of my artillery, directing them to take different roads, and whichever should meet you first, to return with immediate notice. Accordingly Lepta came back with great expedition; and assuring me that you had actually passed the camp, I instantly went to Iconium. What followed I need not mention. And now is it probable, that I, who am rather apt to be more assiduous in offices of this kind, than my station and character require, should neglect to pay the accustomed honours to Appius Claudius; to one dignified with the august title of *Imperator*; and what is still stronger, to my friend? But, not to dwell any longer upon this article, I cannot forbear taking notice of an expression you made

* The accensors were officers who attended on the proconsular magistrates in their courts of justice.

use of to the same person. “ A compliment of this
“ kind, you told him, had mutually passed between
“ you and Lentulus; * and did Cicero take upon
“ himself to act towards a person of your quality
“ with less ceremony ? ” But can it be true, that
so weak an expression should drop from a man of
your improved understanding, and knowledge of
the world ; I will add too, (what the stoics justly
rank in the number of social virtues) of your refined
good breeding ? Can you possibly believe me
so mean, as to be influenced more by the distinctions
of birth, than of merit ? I have ever, indeed,
held the founders of illustrious families as truly
great ; but never could I esteem the splendid names
they transmitted to their posterity, as objects of
my admiration. These were my sentiments even
before I had myself attained what the world considers
as the highest honours, But now, after having
filled the most distinguished posts in the common-
wealth, with a character that leaves nothing more
for my ambition to wish ; though I am far from
thinking myself superior to those of your rank, I
hoped, however, that I might be deemed their
equal. I am persuaded, at least, that I have been
always regarded as such, not only by Lentulus, to

* Lentulus was predecessor to Appius in the government
of Cilicia ; as Appius was to Cicero.

whom I yield the preference to myself in every respect, but by Pompey likewise, whom I look upon as the greatest man the world has ever produced. But if you differ from them in this opinion, I would recommend the writings of Athenodorus* to your attentive perusal; as they will teach you to form a more just distinction between high birth and true nobility. †

But not to deviate farther from the purpose of my letter, I beg you would do me the justice to believe, not only that I am your friend, but that I am most affectionately so; the truth of which I shall endeavour to evince, by every means in my power. Nevertheless, if you are disposed to make the world suspect that you have less reason to take my interest under your protection during my absence, than I had to act for yours in the same circumstance, I willingly spare you the trouble :

There want not chiefs in such a cause to fight,
And Jove himself shall guard a monarch's right. ‡

But, notwithstanding you should give me reason to think that you are of a temper too apt to take of-

* He was preceptor to Augustus Cæsar. *Manut.*

† See Vol. 1. p. 107. note.

‡ Hom. Pope's transl. These lines are taken from the speech of Agamemnon to Achilles, in the first Iliad, where

fence, you will not, however, extinguish my desire of exerting my best services in your behalf; you will only render me less solicitous in what manner you may receive them.

Thus I have opened my heart to you with a freedom that results from the conscious sincerity of my friendship towards you; and which, as it was founded on dispassionate judgment, I shall preserve just as long as may be agreeable to your own inclinations. Farewell.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 703.]

TO CAIUS CASSIUS,* PROQUÆSTOR.

My own inclinations have anticipated your commendation; I have long since received Marcus

the latter threatens to withdraw his forces from the common cause. Cicero seems to apply them in particular allusion to his interest with Pompey; who, at this time, was the great idol of his devotion, and the political Jove, at whose shrine he most devoutly bowed.

* He attended Crassus into Syria, as his quæstor; who, being killed in an engagement against the Parthians, as has been related in Vol. I. p. 136. note, the administration devolved upon Cassius. He seems, when this letter was written, to have been setting out, if not actually upon the road,

Fabius into the number of my friends. He has extremely endeared himself to me, indeed, by his great politeness and elegance of manners; but particularly by the singular affection I have observed he bears towards you. Accordingly, though your letter in his behalf was not without effect, yet my own knowledge of the regard he entertains for you, had somewhat more; you may be assured, therefore, I shall very faithfully confer upon him the good offices you request.

Many reasons concurred to make me wish you

from that province. Soon after his return to Rome, the civil war broke out, in which he commanded a very considerable fleet on the side of Pompey; but, upon the defeat of that general in the plains of Pharsalia, he surrendered both himself and his ships to the conqueror. See Book vii. Let. 36. note. It is unnecessary to mention the part which Cassius afterwards acted towards his benefactor, as every body knows that he was the principal contriver and manager of the conspiracy against Cæsar. Plutarch asserts, that he engaged in this design from his passionate love of liberty; but the contemporaries of Cassius thought otherwise, and it was generally believed in Rome, that he was actuated, upon that occasion, more by pique than patriotism. It is probable, indeed, that the former was his strongest, if not his single motive; for his oppressive and tyrannical conduct, during his administration of the province of Syria, renders it not very reasonable to suppose that he was a real friend to the natural rights of mankind. *Plut. in vit. Brut. Cic. Epist. Fam. viii. 10.* See Let. 14. of Book iv.

could have given me an interview. In the first place, I was desirous, after so tedious a separation, to see a friend whom I have long esteemed. In the next place, I should have been glad to have expressed those congratulations in person, which I have already paid you in a letter. I wanted, likewise, an opportunity of conferring with you upon our mutual affairs, as well as of confirming a friendship founded on many reciprocal good offices, though interrupted, indeed, by a long absence. But, since I could not obtain the pleasure of a nearer conference, let me take the advantage, at least, of this more distant communication ; and which, in most respects, will answer the same purpose. There is one or two, however, I must except, as it can neither afford me a satisfaction equal to that of seeing you, nor a mean of rendering you so sensible of the joy I feel in your late success. But though I have already expressed my congratulations in a former letter, I will here again assure you, that I very sincerely rejoice, not only in the illustrious actions you have performed,* but at your very opportune departure,

* Cassius, after the death of Crassus, and the total defeat of his army, conducted back the remains of the Roman troops into Syria, and shut himself up in Antiochia. But, upon the approach of the Parthians towards that city, he sallied out ; and, by his bravery and conduct having re-

amidst the general esteem and applauses of the whole province.

And now, what I had farther to say, if we had met, related to our mutual affairs; a point, however, which may full as well be discussed in this manner. With regard to your own, when I consider your interest in general, I cannot but advise you to hasten

pulsed the enemy, he continued harassing their retreat till he drove them entirely out of Syria. It is upon this success that Cicero's congratulations are founded; but they are congratulations in which he was by no means sincere. For, in some letters to Atticus, written about this time, he speaks of Cassius as having magnified his actions to the senate much beyond the truth; and even claims a share with him in the glory of repulsing the Parthians. It was the news, he says, of his being upon the march in order to assist Cassius, that animated his courage, and spread such terror among the enemy, as induced them to retreat. But this (as the very ingenious French translator of the letters to Atticus, observes) was ascribing to himself an honour to which he had certainly no right. For Cicero was at a great distance from Antiochia when the Parthians retreated from that city; which the bravery of Cassius, together with their own inexperience in the nature of regular sieges, were the only causes of their abandoning. An observation, therefore, of Cicero's own, may serve, perhaps, as a proper conclusion to this remark: *Deforme est de se-ipso prædicare, falso præsertim; et cum irrisione audientium imitari militem gloriosum.* Dio. p. 134. Ad Att. v. 20, 21. Mong. Transduct. Vol. III. p. 148. rem. 9. De Offic. i. 38.

to Rome. When I left the city, there was not the least appearance of any designs to your prejudice; and, I am persuaded your returning thither, while the success of your arms is fresh upon the minds of the people, will ensure you a reception greatly to your honour. The reason for hastening your journey will hold still stronger, if you are convinced that you shall be able to defeat those prosecutions which you are apprehensive, it seems, may be brought against some of your officers; as nothing will place your character in a more advantageous light, than a victory of this kind. But, if you imagine the charge can be made good against them, it merits your consideration, whether your arrival in Rome will not happen in a conjuncture very unfavourable for such a circumstance. Upon the whole, you yourself are most capable of determining this question, as you are the best judge of your own strength. If you think you shall triumph over your adversaries, it is a circumstance, undoubtedly, that will raise your general credit; but if you are clear that the reverse will prove the case, you will certainly be less mortified by the distant reflections of the world, than if you were placed within the hearing of their malicious censures.

As to my own affairs, I must repeat the request of my last, and entreat you to exert your utmost endeavours that my continuance here may not be

extended beyond the period limited by the senate and the people. I urge this request, as one upon which all my hopes depend; and entreat you to act in it with a proportionable zeal. You will find Paulus* extremely well disposed to co-operate with you upon this occasion; as also both Curio and Furnius.†

I have only to add the last article I mentioned, as an inducement for desiring an interview; I mean, in order to renew and confirm the pledges of our mutual friendship. I persuade myself it will not be necessary to employ many words for that purpose. You discovered, indeed, an early disposition to be thus united with me; as, on my part, I always considered it as my particular honour. I found it too my great support, in the season of my misfortunes. Let me add, in farther claim to its continuance, that I have contracted, since your absence, a great intimacy with your relation Brutus.‡ I promise myself much satisfaction from the society of two such ingenious friends, as well as very high advantages from your united services: suffer me not, I conjure you, to conceive this hope

* One of the present consuls.

† Tribunes of the people.

‡ Brutus was at this time married to Junia, the sister of Cassius.

in vain. In the mean time, I beg to hear from you immediately, as I desire, likewise, you would write to me, very frequently, when you return to Rome. Farewell.

LETTER IX.

[A. U. 703.]

TO MARCUS CÆLIUS, CURULE-ÆDILE.

THE very worthy and learned Marcus Fabius* is a person with whom I am most intimately connected. He strongly, indeed, engages my affection, not only by his superior genius and erudition, but by that uncommon modesty which adorns them. I entreat you, therefore, to undertake his cause with the same warmth as if it were my own. I know you fine orators are so much employed, that a man must have committed murder at least, ere he can hope that his affairs are of significance enough to claim your assistance. In the present instance, however, I will take no excuse; and if I have any share in your regard, you will give up all other business, when Fabius requires your services.

* This seems to be the person mentioned in the foregoing letter, in whose behalf Cassius had written to Cicero. The following epistle is, likewise, in favour of the same friend, and upon the same occasion.

The severity of the winter has prevented my receiving any dispatches from Rome, a considerable time. I am extremely impatient, therefore, to hear what is going forward amongst you, and particularly what my friend Coelius is doing. Farewell.

LETTER X.

[A. U. 703.]

TO CURTIUS PEDUCEANUS, PRÆTOR.*

I HAVE long enjoyed an intimacy with Marcus Fabius, for whom I sincerely profess the most tender regard. I do not, however, desire to influence your judgment in the suit which he has depending before you, as I am sure you will not depart from those rules of equity which your honour obliges you to observe, and which you prescribed to yourself when you first entered upon your office.† My only request is, (and it is a request I most earnestly make,) that you would allow him to wait upon

* The prætors were next in rank and power to the consuls, and their office somewhat resembled that of our chief justices. See p. 76. note.

† The several prætors, before they entered upon their office, drew up and published a sort of formulary, which they intended to observe in their respective administrations of justice. *Rosin. Antiq. Rom.* vii. 700.

you, and would favour his claim so far as justice is on his side. In a word, let me entreat you to shew him, that my friendship can avail him even at this distance. Farewell.

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 703.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

I HAVE at last received a letter from you, written in a spirit worthy of yourself, as it is conceived in terms full of a generous and candid friendship. It should seem indeed, that the very view of Rome had an immediate effect upon your temper, and restored you to the agreeable possession of your usual good humour and politeness. I am sure, at least, that the two complaining letters you wrote to me on your journey, ere you had left Asia, were such as I could not read without reluctance. I will own too, that, conscious of the nviolable attachment which I have ever preserved to your interests, I could not forbear answering them with some warmth. The letter, indeed, which you delivered to my freedman, Philotimus, left me no room to doubt, that there were some persons in this province who were no well-wishers to our union. But I have the satisfaction to find, that, as soon as you came

to Rome, or rather as soon as you were met by your friends and family, you were convinced of that warm and constant testimony I gave of my friendship and esteem for you upon all occasions during your absence. You will easily imagine, then, with how much pleasure I read your assurances, that if any incident should arise wherein my reputation may be concerned, you will endeavour to make me an equal return. And though you doubt whether you shall be able effectually to do so, most certainly there is no reason to question it; for there is nothing, my friend, which a sincere and zealous affection is not capable of performing.

Notwithstanding I was well persuaded, in my own judgment, and had received frequent assurances, likewise, by the letters of my friends, that you would undoubtedly be honoured with a triumph, yet it afforded me a singular pleasure to be confirmed* in this persuasion by your own hand. Believe me, however, I by no means rejoice in it from a selfish Epicurean principle, and as it may probably facilitate my own pretensions of the same kind, but as taking a sincere and disinterested share

* When Cicero wrote this epistle, he had not received the letter from Cœlius, wherein he gives him an account of Ap-pius having dropped his petition for a triumph. See the 5th letter of this Book.

in every increase of your dignities. I entreat you, then, as you have more frequent opportunities of writing into this province than any other of my friends, that you would give me immediate notice as soon as you shall have obtained the decree, which you have so much reason to expect, and which I so unfeignedly wish you. If the tedious resolutions of the *long bench*, as our friend Pompey calls the senate, should delay your hopes a few days, (and more than a few days they, surely, cannot delay them,) be confident, however, that they will at length distinguish you with those honours which are so justly your due. Again, therefore, I conjure you, as you give me *your* affection, or would preserve *mine*, to let me participate in the joy of this good news as early as possible.

To this request I will join another, and remind you of executing your promise of sending me the completion of your treatise on augury.* I ask this, not only as being desirous of informing myself in the rites and principles of the sacred college, but as I receive with uncommon satisfaction every mark of your favour. As to the request you made me on your part, of returning you a compliment in the same kind, it is a point I must well consider. For it would ill become an author whom you have so

* See Vol. I. p. 295. note.

often applauded for the pains * he bestows upon his compositions, to suffer any crude and indigested performance to come forth from his hands; especially upon an occasion that would justly expose

* “ ’Tis strange to see how differently the vanity of mankind runs in different times and seasons. ’Tis at present the boast of almost every enterprizer in the Muses’ art, that, by his genius alone, and a natural rapidity of style and thought, he is able to carry all before him; that he plays with his business, does things in passing, at a venture, and in the quickest period of time. In the days of attic elegance, as works were then truly of another form and turn, so workmen were of another humour, and had their vanity of a quite contrary kind. They became rather affected in endeavouring to discover the pains they had taken to be correct. They were glad to insinuate how laboriously, and with what expence of time, they had brought the smallest work of theirs (as perhaps a single ode, or satire, an oration, or panegyric) to its perfection. When they had so polished their piece, and rendered it so natural and easy, that it seemed only a lucky flight, a hit of thought, or flowing vein of humour, they were then chiefly concerned, lest it should in reality pass for such, and their artifice remain undiscovered. They were willing it should be known how serious their play was, and how elaborate their freedom and facility, that they might say, as the agreeable and polite poet, glancing on himself,

“ *Ludentis speciem dabit et torquebitur.*” —Shafts. Char. 1. 233.

him to the censure, not only of being guilty of negligence, but of a most ungrateful disrespect. However, I may find some opportunity, perhaps, of satisfying both you and myself upon this article. In the mean time, I hope you will endeavour, in conformity to your promise, that a public thanksgiving, of the most distinguished kind, be decreed, as soon as possible, on account of my late victories; and I am persuaded you will act with that zeal which is agreeable to your sincerity, and to the friendship which has long subsisted between us. I was somewhat later in my public dispatches for this purpose than I wished; and as they were delayed likewise by the difficulty of navigation at that season, they did not, I suppose, arrive before the senate was prorogued. It was the influence which your advice always has upon my judgment, that induced me to defer them; and I am satisfied it was perfectly right not to acquaint the senate of my being saluted with the title of *Imperator*, till I had gained still farther advantages by my arms, and entirely completed the campaign. I confidently rely, therefore, upon the assistance you have promised me, and recommend to your protection whatever else concerns either my affairs or my family. Farewell.

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 703.]

TO MARCUS CÆLIUS.

WOULD you imagine that I should ever be at a loss for words! I do not mean of that chosen and elegant kind which are the privilege of you celebrated orators, but those of ordinary and common use. Yet, believe me, I am utterly incapable of expressing the solicitude I feel concerning the resolutions that may be taken in the senate, in regard to the provinces. I am extremely impatient, indeed, to return to my friends at Rome, among which number you are principally in my thoughts. I will confess, likewise, that I am quite satiated of my government. For, in the first place, I have more reason to apprehend that some reverse of fortune may deprive me of the glory I have here acquired, than to expect I shall be able to raise it higher. And, in the next place, I cannot but look upon the whole business of this scene as much inferior to my strength, which is both able and accustomed to support a far more important weight. I will acknowledge, too, that I am uneasy in the expectation of a very terrible war* which is likely

* With the Parthians.

to be kindled in this part of the world, and which I may probably escape, if I should obtain my dismissal at the stated time.

I do not forget the panthers you desired, and have given my orders to the persons usually employed in hunting them; but these animals are exceedingly scarce with us. They take it so unkind, you must know, that they should be the only creatures in my province for whom any snares are laid, that they have withdrawn themselves from my government, and are marched into Caria. However, the huntsmen, and particularly honest Patischus, are making very diligent enquiry after their haunts; and all the game they can meet with shall certainly be yours; but what the number will prove is altogether uncertain. Be well assured the honour of your Ædileship is much my care, and this day particularly reminds me of it, as it is the festival of the Megalesian games.*

I hope you will send me a minute detail of our public affairs, as I have an entire dependence on the accounts which are transmitted to me by your hand. Farewell.

† The Megalesian games were under the conduct of the curule Ædiles, as well as those called the *Roman*. The learned Manutius, therefore, conjectures, that the anniversary of the former reminded Cicero of the panthers which Cœlius

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 703.]

TO THERMUS, PROPRETOR.

YOUR very generous treatment of Marcus Mar-
cilius, the son of my friend and interpreter, * is a
most obliging instance, among many others, of the
regard you pay to my recommendations. He came
to me at Laodicea, and expressed the highest gra-
titude for the good offices you had conferred upon
him, at my request. As you see, therefore, that
your favours are not bestowed upon those who are
insensible of their value, I hope you will be the

requested, in order to grace those shows he was to exhibit
at the latter, which were celebrated with greater pomp
and magnificence. The nature of the *Roman* games has al-
ready been explained in p. 67. note. The Megalesian games
were instituted in honour of the mother of the gods, and
were so called from *Megalesia*, (scil. ναος της μεγάλης
Θεας) a temple in Phrygia, from whence the statue and wor-
ship of that goddess was brought to Rome. This festival
commenced on the 4th of April, and continued six days.

* The governors of provinces were prohibited from using
any other language than the Latin, in the functions of their
ministry, for which reason they were always attended with
interpreters. *Val. Max.* ii. 2.

more inclined to continue them. I entreat you then to interpose, as far as your honour will permit, in preventing a prosecution, wherein the mother-in-law of this young man is likely to be involved. And though I strongly recommended Marcilius to you, in my former letter, yet it is with still greater warmth that I do so in this; as I have since received very singular, and, indeed, almost incredible proofs of his father's probity and fidelity during the many months he has been engaged in my service. Farewell.

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 703.]

TO THE SAME.

THE report of a very considerable war being kindled in Syria, is confirmed to me by daily expresses. I take the liberty, therefore, in confidence of our mutual friendship, to press you so much the more strongly to dismiss my lieutenant Anneius as soon as possible. His military abilities, indeed, will render his advice and assistance of singular advantage in this conjuncture, both to myself and to the republic. Nothing could have induced him to leave me at this critical season, or, in truth, have prevailed with me to consent to his absence, but an affair

of the last importance to his interest. However, as I purpose to go into Cilicia* about the beginning of May, it is absolutely necessary he should return before that time.

I will take this opportunity of most earnestly renewing the request I made to you in person, and which I afterwards repeated in a letter, that you would employ your good offices in settling his contest with the city of Sardis, agreeably to the justice of his cause, and the dignity of his character. I had the pleasure, when I talked with you upon this subject at Ephesus, to find you perfectly well disposed to assist him upon his own account. Let me add, however, that your adjusting this affair to his satisfaction, will be performing the most acceptable service likewise to myself. I conjure you, therefore, to dispatch it with all possible expedition.--- Farewell.

* Besides the province of Cilicia, properly so called, there were three other adjoining districts annexed to Cicero's government, in one of which he appears to have been at the time of writing this letter.

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 703.]

TO MARCUS CÆLIUS, CURULE-ÆDILE.

YOUR very agreeable letters visit me but seldom; perhaps, by some accident or other, they lose their way. How full was the last* which came to my hands of the most prudent and obliging advice! I had determined, indeed, to act in the manner you recommend; but it gives an additional strength to one's resolutions, to find them conformable to the sentiments of so faithful and so judicious a friend. I have often assured you of my extreme affection for Appius; and I had reason to believe, after our mutual reconciliation, that he entertained the same favourable disposition towards me. For he distinguished me in his consulate with great marks of honour and amity; and appeared willing, upon all occasions, to gratify my requests even in favour of others. I must appeal to you, (since the droll Phania† is, I think, no more,) that I was not wanting, on my part, in a suitable return; and, indeed, he stood so much the higher in my esteem, as I was

* The 5th letter of this Book.

† A favourite freedman of Appius.

sensible of the affection he had conceived for you. Add to this, that I am, as you well know, wholly devoted to Pompey, and tenderly attached also to Brutus.* Can I then want a reason of uniting myself with Appius, thus supported as he is by the most powerful friends and alliances, and flourishing in every other advantage that can be derived from affluent possessions, in conjunction with great abilities!† But, besides these considerations, I must

* That Cicero was wholly devoted to Pompey, cannot be doubted; but that he was sincere in this declaration with respect to Brutus, may well be questioned. It appears, indeed, that they were neither of them perfectly satisfied with each other at this time; and Cicero complains to Atticus of having received some very haughty and disrespectful letters from Brutus, even when the latter was soliciting his good offices in favour of Appius. *Nullas unquam* (says he) *ad me litteras misit Brutus, ne proxime quidem de Appio, in quibus non esset arrogans, ἀκραιωνητον aliquid.*—Plane parum cogitat, quid scribat, aut ad quem.—Ad Att. vi. 3. vid. etiam. vi. 1. v. 21. See p. 93. note.

† These were the true, and perhaps the only, reasons which induced Cicero to endeavour to be upon good terms with Appius. For that he had a real affection for him, as he pretends in this epistle, is by no means probable. On the contrary, in a letter to Atticus, he speaks of his disposition towards Appius in terms of much lower import; and discovers, at the same time, the principal motive that engaged him in his interest. *Pro Appio nos hic omnia faciemus; honeste tamen, sed plane libenter. Nec enim ipsum odimus; et Pompeius mirifice a me contendit.* Ad Att. vi. 2.

mention, likewise, the connexion that subsists between us as members of the same sacred college, and the honour he has publicly paid me in his learned treatise concerning its institutions. I mark out these several circumstances the more particularly, as your letter seemed to intimate a doubt in what manner I was inclined towards him. This leads me to suspect, that some idle tale or other has been reported to the disadvantage of my sentiments respecting Appius; but be assured, whatever you have heard of that nature is utterly false. I must confess, at the same time, that his maxims and mine in the administration of this province, have been somewhat different; and it may from thence, perhaps, have been suggested, that I acted counter to his measures, more from a spirit of opposition, than from any real disagreement of principles. But, believe me, I have never said or done the least thing, throughout the whole course of my government, with a view of prejudizing his reputation. And now, that my friend Dolabella has so rashly attacked him, I am exerting all my good offices to dissipate the rising storm with which he is threatened.

You mentioned something of a lethargic inactivity that had seized the republic. I rejoiced, no doubt, to hear, that you were in a state of such profound tranquillity, as well as that our spirited

friend* was so much infected with this general indolence, as not to be in a humour of disturbing it. But the last paragraph of your letter, which was written, I observed, with your own hand, changed the scene, and somewhat indeed discomposed me. Is Curio really then become a convert to Cæsar? But, extraordinary as this event may appear to others, believe me, it is agreeable to what I always suspected. Good gods! how do I long to laugh with you at the ridiculous farce which is acting in your part of the world.

I have finished my juridical circuit; and not only settled the finances of the several cities upon a more advantageous basis, but secured to the farmers of the revenues the arrears due on their former agreements, without the least complaint from any of the parties concerned. In short, I have given entire satisfaction to all orders and degrees of men in this province. I propose, therefore, to set out for Cilicia† on the 7th of May; from whence, after having just looked upon the troops in their summer cantonment, and settled some affairs relating to the army, I intend, agreeably to the decree of the senate for that purpose, to set forward to Rome. I am extremely impatient, indeed, to return to my

* Curio.

† See p. 179. note,

friends ; but particularly to you, whom I much wish to see in the administration of your Ædileship. Farewell.

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 703.]

TO QUINTUS THERMUS, PROPÆTOR.

It is with great pleasure I perceive, that my services to Rhodo, and others of your friends, as well as those likewise which I have performed to yourself, prove acceptable to a man of your grateful disposition. Be assured, you will find me still more and more desirous of advancing your credit and reputation ; though I must add, that the lenity and justice of your government seem already to have raised them as high as possible.

The more I reflect upon your affairs, (and they are the daily subject of my thoughts,) the more I am confirmed in that advice I communicated to you by Aristo. I am well persuaded, indeed, that you will draw upon yourself very powerful enemies, if you should put any slight upon a young nobleman of your quæstor's rank and interest. And a slight it will undoubtedly be, if you should not, at your departure, commit the administration of the province to his hands ; as there is no other person to

whom you can trust it of superior quality. But, abstracted from all considerations of this kind, he has an unquestionable right, as your quæstor, to be preferred to any of your lieutenants, whose blameless and worthy conduct, however, I must at the same time in justice acknowledge. I am perfectly sensible, that you have nothing to fear from the resentment of any man. I could wish, nevertheless, that you would not incur the displeasure, and especially with just reason, of three such distinguished persons as your quæstor and his brothers; for they are all of them men of some eloquence, as well as great spirit; to which I must add, that I am persuaded they will successively be tribunes of the people* during the three next following years. Now, who can tell what turn public affairs may take? For my own part, I think there is much appearance of great commotions arising in the commonwealth. I should be sorry, therefore, that you should render yourself obnoxious to so formidable a power as the tribunitia; especially since you may easily avoid it, without offending any person, by

* Pighius, with great probability, conjectures, from the circumstances here mentioned, compared with other passages in Cicero's writings, that Caius Antonius, second brother to Mark Antony, was quæstor to Thermus.—*Pighii Annal. anno 703.*

justly preferring your quæstor to your lieutenants. And should his conduct, as your vicegerent in the province, prove worthy of his glorious ancestors, as I hope and believe, it will reflect, in some degree, an honour upon yourself. But, on the contrary, should he deviate from their illustrious examples, the whole discredit will fall singly upon his own character, without involving yours in any part of the reproach.

I am this moment setting out for Cilicia;* so that I have only time to write these loose hints just as they occur. I thought it incumbent upon me, however, to send you my general sentiments of a point wherein your interest is so nearly concerned. May the gods give success to whatever you shall determine! But, if my advice has any weight, you will avoid raising to yourself unnecessary enemies, and prudently consult your future repose. Farewell.

* See p. 179. note.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 703.]

TO C. TITIUS RUFUS, PRÆTOR.

LUCIUS CUSTIDIUS is not only of the same tribe* and corporation† with myself, but is likewise my particular friend. As he has a cause which he purposes to bring before you, I recommend his interest to your protection, but no farther, however, than is consistent with your honour and my own good manners. All I request, therefore, is, that you would allow him freely to wait upon you as often as he shall have occasion; that you would comply with his desires, as far as they shall appear equitable; and, in a word, that you would convince him,

* Romulus divided his citizens into three tribes, each of which were subdivided into ten *curiæ*, or wards. These tribes were, in after-times, gradually increased, till they amounted to the number of thirty-five.

† The corporate or municipal towns were those which were allowed to govern themselves by their own laws and constitutions, and at the same time were honoured with the privileges of Roman citizens. Cicero was a native of one of these corporations, called Arpinum; situated in a district of Italy, which now makes part of the kingdom of Naples.

that my friendship can effectually avail even at this distance. Farewell.

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 703.]

TO SILIUS.

WILL you not think, that I am employed in a very unnecessary office, when I take upon me to recommend a man to your friendship, who already, I know, enjoys that privilege? Let it be a proof, however, that I am with passion, as well as esteem, devoted to his interest. I most earnestly entreat you then to convince Egnatius, by the good effects which this letter shall produce in his favour, both of your affection for me, and of mine for him. And be assured, your compliance with this request will be the most agreeable of all the many and great instances I have received of your disposition to oblige me.

The pleasing hopes I entertained of public affairs are now totally vanished. However, whilst we wish things were better, let us support ourselves with the trite consolation, that we must submit to what cannot be remedied. But this is a subject I will reserve to our meeting. In the mean time, continue to give

me your friendship, and be well persuaded of mine.
Farewell.

♦LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 703.]

TO PUBLIUS CÆSIUS.

I most earnestly recommend to your favour my very intimate friend Publius Messienus, a Roman knight, who is distinguished by every valuable endowment. I entreat you, by the double ties of that amity which I enjoy with you and your father, to protect him both in his fame and his fortunes. Be assured, you will by this means conciliate the affection of a man highly deserving of your friendship, as well as confer a most acceptable obligation upon myself. Farewell.

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 703.]

TO THE MAGISTRATES OF FREGELLÆ.*

IF my connexions with Quintus Hippius were not of the strongest and most amicable kind, I should not depart from the rule I have laid down to myself, of not troubling you with my applications. This maxim, you will bear me witness, I have hitherto strictly observed, though I was ever persuaded, at the same time, that there is nothing you would refuse to my request. However, I now most earnestly entreat your generosity in behalf of my friend's son, and that you would do me the honour to shew so much regard to my inclinations, as to enfranchise the estate he has purchased of your corporation. I shall esteem your compliance with this request as a very singular favour. Farewell.

* It is supposed to be the same town which is now called *Caperaro*, in the *Campagna di Roma*.

LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK SIXTH.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 703.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

WHEN I first received an account of the ill-judged prosecution which has been commenced against you,* it gave me great concern; and indeed nothing could possibly have happened that I less expected. But as soon as I had recovered from my surprise, I was well satisfied that you will easily dis-

* See p. 149. note.

appoint the malice of your enemies; for I have the highest confidence in your own judicious conduct on this occasion, as well as a very great one in that of your friends. I see many reasons, indeed, to believe, that the envy of your adversaries will only brighten that character they mean to sully; though I cannot but regret, that they should have thus snatched from you an honour you so justly merit, and of which you had so well-grounded an assurance; the honour, I mean, of a triumph.* However, you will shew your judgment, if you should consider this pompous distinction in the light it has ever appeared to my own view; and, at the same time, enjoy a triumph of the completest kind in the confusion and disappointment of your enemies; as I am well convinced, that the vigorous and prudent exertion of your power and influence will give them abundant reason to repent of their violent proceedings. As for myself, be well assured, (and I call every god to witness the sincerity of what I promise,) that I will exert my utmost interest in support, I will not say of your person, which I hope is in no danger, but of your dignities and honour. To this end, I shall employ my best good offices for you in this province, where you once presided; and employ them with all the warmth of an inter-

* See p. 84. note.

cessor, with all the assiduity of a relation, with all the influence of a man who, I trust, is dear to these cities, and with all the authority of one who is invested with the supreme command. In a word, I hope you will both ask and expect of me every service in my power; and believe me, I shall give you greater proofs of my affection than you are disposed, perhaps, to imagine. Notwithstanding, therefore, that the letter I received from you by the hands of Quintus Servilius was extremely short, yet I could not but think it much too long; for it was doing an injury to the sentiments of my heart, to suppose you had any occasion to solicit my assistance. I am sorry you should have an opportunity of experiencing, by an incident so little agreeable to you, the rank you bear in my affection; the esteem which I entertain for Pompey, whom I justly value indeed above all men; and the measure of my unfeigned regard for Brutus;---circumstances, I should hope, of which our daily intercourse had rendered you sufficiently sensible. However, since it has so happened, I should think that I acted a most unworthy, not to say a criminal part, if I were to omit any article wherein my services can avail you.

Pontinius remembers the singular instances of friendship he has received from you, and of which

I myself was a witness,* with all the gratitude and affection to which you have so undoubted a right. The urgency of his affairs had obliged him, though with great reluctance, to leave me. Nevertheless, having been informed, just as he was going to embark at Ephesus, that his presence in this province might be of advantage to your cause,† he immediately returned back to Laodicea. I am persuaded you will meet with numberless such instances of zeal upon this occasion; can I doubt, then, that this troublesome affair will prove, in the conclusion, greatly to your credit?

If you should be able to bring on an election of censors,‡ and should exercise that office in the

* Pontinius was prætor in the consulate of Cicero, and at this time one of his lieutenants in the province. He distinguished himself in the affair of Catiline; and having quelled the insurrection of the Allobroges, who took up arms on that occasion, he demanded a triumph. But he met with so strong an opposition to this claim, and particularly from Cato, that it was four years before his petition was granted. Appius was at that time consul; by whose interest it chiefly was that Pontinius at length succeeded; and it is to this circumstance that Cicero seems to allude.—*Liv. Epit.* 103. *Dio.* xl. *Ad Att.* iv. 16.

† See p. 150. note.

‡ The office of censor was the most honourable post in the Roman republic; though its authority was not so considerable as that of the consul. The two principal branches

manner you certainly ought, and for which you are so perfectly well qualified, you can never want that authority in the republic, which will afford at once a protection both to yourself and your friends. Let me entreat, therefore, your most strenuous endeavours to prevent my administration from being prolonged; that, after having filled up the measure of my affectionate services to you here, I may have the satisfaction also of presenting them to you at Rome.

I read with pleasure, though by no means with surprise, the account you gave me of that general zeal which all orders and degrees of men have shewn in your cause; a circumstance of which I had likewise been informed by my other friends. It affords me great satisfaction to find, that a man, with whom I have the honour and pleasure to be so intimately

of his duty consisted in taking a general survey of the people, in order to range them in their proper classes, and in watching over the public manners. Appius, together with Piso, whose daughter Cæsar had married, were chosen censors soon after the date of this letter; and they were the last (as Dr Middleton observes) “who bore that office during the freedom of the republic;” if the republic, indeed, could, with any propriety, be said to have enjoyed freedom at this period, when all was faction and misrule. *Rosin. de Antiq. Rom.* 699. *Life of Tully*, ii. 210. 8vo ed. See Let. 15. of this Book.

united, is thus distinguished with that universal approbation he justly deserves. But I rejoice in this upon another consideration likewise; as it is a proof that there still remains a general disposition in Rome to support the cause of illustrious merit; a disposition which I have myself also experienced upon every occasion, as the honourable recompence of my pains and vigils in the public service. But I am astonished, that Dolabella, a young man, whom I formerly rescued with the utmost difficulty from the consequences of two capital impeachments, should so ungratefully forget the patron to whom he owes all that he enjoys, as to be the author of this ill-considered prosecution of my friend. And what aggravates the folly of his conduct, is, that he should thus venture to attack a man who is distinguished with the highest honours, and supported by the most powerful friendships; at the same time, that he himself (to speak of him in the softest terms) is greatly deficient in both these respects. I had received an account from our friend Cœlius, before your letter reached my hand, of the idle and ridiculous report he has propagated, and on which you so largely expatiate. There is so little ground, however, for what he asserts, that, be assured, I would much sooner break off all former friendship with a man who had thus declared himself your

enemy, than be prevailed upon to engage with him in any new connexions.*

* Nothing could be more distant from Cicero's heart than what he here pretends. For there is the strongest evidence to believe, that it was his fixed intention, at this very time, to enter into an alliance with Dolabella; and, in fact, Tullia was married to him soon after the date of this letter. Cicero affirms, I must acknowledge, in an epistle to Atticus, what he likewise asserts in a subsequent one to Appian, "that this transaction was entirely without his knowledge; but he seems to have dealt as insincerely upon this occasion with his bosom friend, as he too frequently did with all the world beside. Accordingly, he assures Atticus, he so little expected the news of his daughter's match, that he was actually in treaty for the disposal of her to another person. But if the latter part of this assertion were true, it aggravates his dissimulation; as the former most evidently was not. For, not to mention the great probability there is, that he left a commission with Cælius, when he set out for the province, relating to the marriage in question, (see p. 149.) it appears, that he had received more than one letter from him upon this subject, before he wrote the last mentioned to Atticus; and, consequently, that he could not have been so much a stranger to the affair as he chose to represent himself. Cicero's answer to the letter of Cælius, concerning this treaty with Dolabella, is extant; and it cannot be dated later than the beginning of May in the present year; because he mentions the seventh of that month as a future day, on which he proposed to return from another part of his province into Cilicia. But the letter to Atticus must have been written in the latter end of

You have not the least reason to doubt of my zeal to serve you; of which I have given many conspicuous testimonies in this province, as well as at Rome. Your letter, nevertheless, intimates some sort of suspicion of the contrary. It would be im-

the same year, because he takes notice in it of the death of Hortensius. Now, he was not informed of that event till he came to Rhodes, in his voyage from Cilicia; as he himself tells us, in the introduction of his oratorical treatise inscribed to Brutus. If Cicero, then, was capable of thus disguising the truth concerning Dolabella, to the nearest and most valuable of his friends, it is no wonder he should not scruple to act a still more counterfeit part in all that he says of him to Appius. And this dissimulation he very freely acknowledges to Cœlius, who, indeed, was in the whole secret of the affair; as it was by his intervention that it seems to have been principally conducted. Accordingly, Cicero taking notice to Cœlius of the letter now before us, which he tells him was written in consequence of the information he had received from him in the 5th of the foregoing Book; he expresses himself in the following remarkable words: *Quid si meam* (sc. epistolam) *legas, quam ego tum ex tuis literis misi ad Appium? sed quid agas? sic vivitur*: which, in plain English, amounts to this, that if a man would be well with the world, he must submit to the lowest and most contemptible hypocrisy. And it must be owned, that Cicero, in the present instance, as well as in most others, acted up to the full extent of his maxim.—*Ad. Att. vi. 6. Ep. Fam. viii. 6. De clar orator. l. Ep. Fam. ii. 15.*

proper, at this juncture, to reproach you with indulging so injurious a thought; but it is necessary I should convince you, that it is altogether without foundation. Tell me, then, wherein did I obstruct the deputation which was intended to be sent to Rome with the complimentary addresses to you of this province? Had I been your avowed enemy, I could not have indulged my spleen by a more important piece of malice; and most certainly, if I had meant to act with a disguised malevolence, I could not have chosen an occasion that would have rendered my sentiments more notorious. Were I as perfidious as the authors of these unjust insinuations, yet surely I should not have been so weak either to discover my enmity where I designed to conceal it, or to show a strong inclination of injuring you by instances utterly ineffectual. I remember, indeed, that some complaints were made to me, concerning the excessive appointments allowed to the deputies from this province. In answer to which, I rather advised, than directed, that all expences of this kind should be regulated by the Cornelian law.* But far was I from insisting even upon this; as may appear by the public records of

* This law was enacted, it is probable, in order to restrain the immoderate sums which were expended in these complimentary deputations.—*Manutius*.

the several cities. For when they afterwards passed their accounts before me, I suffered them to charge to the article of their deputations whatever sum they thought proper. Yet what falsehoods have not these worthless informers imposed upon you? They have affirmed, it seems, not only that I absolutely prohibited all expences of this kind, but even obliged the agents of those deputies, who were actually set forward in their way to Rome, to refund the appointments that were lodged in their hands, and by these means discouraged several others from undertaking the same commission. I might here, with great justice, complain of your giving credit to these calumnies; but I forbear, as I said before, in tenderness to your present disquietude, thinking it more proper, at this season, to vindicate my own conduct than to reproach yours. I will only, therefore, remind you of a few reasons that ought to have secured me against suffering in your opinion from these groundless imputations. If ever, then, you experienced the probity of my heart, or observed a disposition in me worthy of those sublime contemplations to which I have devoted myself from my earliest youth; if ever you discovered by my conduct, in the most important transactions, that I was neither void of spirit, nor destitute of abilities, you ought to have believed me incapable of acting a low and little part towards my

friends, much more a base and a treacherous one. But if artifice be the character, after all, in which I must needs be represented, could any thing, let me ask, be less consistent with such a temper, than either to slight the friendship of a man of your high rank and credit, or to oppose your glory in an obscure and remote province, after having openly supported it in view of the whole world at Rome? Can any thing have less the appearance of artifice than to discover an impotent malevolence, and betray to very little purpose a strong propensity of doing an injury. But what possible motive could induce me to cherish so implacable a spirit toward you, who was far from shewing yourself my enemy, (and I speak it upon the information of my own brother,) even at a time when you were almost under an indispensable obligation of appearing so? * And after our reconciliation had been effected agreeably to our mutual desires for that purpose, did you once, throughout the whole period of your consulate, make a single request to me in vain? or which of the

* This alludes to the services which Cicero received from Appius in his recal from banishment. "For Appius (as Mr Ross observes) was at that time prætor; and though he at first supported his brother Clodius, and opposed the repeal of his law, yet he afterwards deserted him, and joined with the friends of Cicero."—*Cic. pro Rom.* 33.

commands that you left with me when I attended you to Puteolæ,* did I not execute with a zeal and assiduity even beyond your expectations? But were I really the artful man I am represented, and if it be the characteristic of that disposition to act entirely with a view to interest, nothing surely could be more conducive to mine, than the friendship of one, from whose rank and abilities, from whose power, family, and alliances, I might hope to derive the highest honours and advantages; considerations, I will own, that rendered me ambitious of your friendship, not from any low unworthy cunning, but from those principles of prudence which wisdom will surely justify. But these were not the only considerations that attached me to your interest; I was drawn by others of an higher and more prevailing influence with me; by a similitude of taste and studies, by the pleasing habitudes of familiar intercourse, and by the same common researches into the most concealed and unfrequented paths of philosophy. To these inducements of a private kind, I may add those of a more popular and public nature. For, after having rendered our mu-

* A maritime city in Campania, in the kingdom of Naples, now called Pozzuoli. When the proconsuls set out for their governments, they were usually escorted by their friends to some distance from Rome.

tual reconciliation conspicuous to the whole world, I could not even undesignedly act counter to your interest, without incurring a suspicion of my sincerity. Let me mention also those obligations which result from my being associated with you in the college of augurs; obligations which our ancestors esteemed of so sacred a nature, that they not only held it impious to violate them, but would not even suffer a candidate to be elected into this society, who was known to be at variance with any of its members. But, abstractedly from these numerous and powerful motives, there is *one*, which of itself might be sufficient to evince the disposition in which I stand towards you; for, tell me, did ever any man possess, or had reason to possess, so high an esteem for another, as that which you know I entertain for the illustrious father-in-law* of your daughter? If personal obligations, indeed, can give him a title to these sentiments, do I not owe to Pompey the enjoyment of my country, my family, my dignities, and even my very self? † If friend-

* Pompey.

† Cicero by no means thought himself so much obliged to Pompey as he here pretends; and all these extravagant professions were a mere artifice (and a thin one it must be owned) to make Pompey believe that he had forgotten the ill usage he had formerly received from him.—*Vid. Ad Att. ix. 13.* The truth of it is, Cicero had just the same sort of

ship may be supposed to have any effect, is there an instance amongst all our consulars of a more intimate union than his and mine? If confidence can create affection, what has he not committed to my care, or communicated to my secrecy? Whenever he was absent from Rome, was there any other man whom he preferred to be the advocate of his interest in the senate? And what honour is there which he has not endeavoured to confer upon me in the most distinguished manner? In fine, with how much temper did he suffer my zeal in the cause of Milo, notwithstanding the latter had upon some occasions joined in the opposition to his measures? And how generously did he protect me by his counsel, his authority, and even his arms, from the insults and the dangers to which I exposed myself in that * de-

obligation to Pompey for the enjoyments he mentions, as he would have had to a highwayman, who, after having taken his purse, should have restored it again; for if Pompey had not acted a treacherous and dishonest part in the affair of Clodius, to which our author here alludes, Cicero would never have been deprived of his *country, his family, and his dignities*. But if Pompey restored him to *these*, he could not restore him to himself; for as the elegant Mongault, in his remarks on the epistles to Atticus, justly observes, if he rose after his fall, he always appeared, however, to be somewhat stunned by the blow.

* If Dion Cassius may be credited in what he relates

fence? And I cannot but here observe, that, far from being disposed, as you have shewn yourself in this affair of the deputies, to listen to the little idle tales that might be propagated to my disadvantage by any paltry provincial, he nobly scorned to give attention to the malicious reports which were dealt about to my prejudice by the most consider-

concerning the circumstances which attended Milo's trial, Cicero had as little reason to acknowledge his obligations to Pompey in the present instance, as in that mentioned in the preceding note. For Pompey being apprehensive that Milo's party might attempt some violent measures in order to obstruct the course of justice, surrounded the court with his troops, which so intimidated Cicero, that it utterly disconcerted his eloquence, and he made a very languid defence of his friend. Accordingly, the oration which Cicero published, and which is still extant, was not spoken, as Dion assures us, at the trial, but was the after-produce of his more composed thoughts. But whether the historian's assertion is to be corrected by Cicero, or Cicero's to be discredited by the historian, is a point I shall not venture to decide. Though I must in justice add, that Asconius, a much earlier writer than Dion Cassius, and one who was a greater admirer of Cicero, accounts in a different manner for the disorder which seized the Roman orator upon this occasion. For he ascribes it to the clamours with which he was insulted by the party against Milo, when he rose up to speak in his defence.—*Dion.* xl. p. 145, 146. *Ascon. argument. in Milon.*

able persons in Rome.† Upon the whole, then, as you are united, not only by alliance, but by affection, to my illustrious friend, what are the sentiments, do you imagine, that I ought to bear towards you? The truth of it is, were I your professed enemy, as I am most sincerely the reverse, yet, after the letter which I lately received from Pompey, I should think myself obliged to sacrifice my resentment to his request, and be wholly governed by the inclinations of a man to whom I am thus greatly indebted. But I have said enough, and perhaps more than was necessary, upon this subject; let me now, therefore, give you a detail both of what I have effected, and am still attempting, for your interest. ‡ * * * * *

This, my friend, is what I have performed, or am endeavouring to perform, in support of your character, I will rather say, than in defence of your person. But I expect every day to hear that

† Milo was suspected, or at least his adversaries pretended to suspect him, of having a design against Pompey's life; and perhaps Cicero's enemies endeavoured to persuade Pompey, that our author was privy to that design.—*Orat. pro Milon.* 24.

‡ The particular instances of Cicero's services to Appius are omitted in the original; and probably were so by the first editor of these letters, as not being thought proper, perhaps, for public inspection.

you are chosen censor; the duties of which office, as they require the highest fortitude and abilities to execute, so, I am sure, they far better deserve your attention than any services I am capable of rendering to you in this province. Farewell.

LETTER II.

[A. U. 703.]

TO PAPIRIUS PÆTUS.*

YOUR letter has rendered me a most complete general. I protest I did not imagine you were so wonderfully skilled in the art military. But I perceive you are an absolute adept, and deeply studied in the tactics of king Pyrrhus† and his minister Ci-

* Lucius Papirius Pætus appears to have been a person of great wit and humour, and in close friendship with Cicero. "He was an Epicurean, and, in pursuance of the plan of life recommended by the principles of that sect, seems to have sacrificed his ambition to his ease. He had sent some military instructions by way of raillery to Cicero; who returns an answer to this letter in the same jocose manner."—*Mr Ross*.

† Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, who flourished about 300 years before the date of this letter, was esteemed by the ancients as one of the greatest soldiers that ever appeared in the world. His whole thoughts and application were turned to the art of war; upon which subject he published some

neas. I have some thoughts, therefore, of following your most curious precepts, and indeed of improving upon them. For as I am assured, that the best armament against the Parthian cavalry is a good fleet, I am designing to equip myself accordingly. Seriously, you cannot imagine what an expert commander you have undertaken to tutor; for after having worn out Xenophon's life of Cyrus, with reading it at Rome, I have now fairly *practised it out* in the province. But I hope soon to joke with you in person. In the mean time, attend with submission due to my high behests. You are not ignorant, I suppose, of the particular intimacy that subsists between Marcus Fabius and myself. I value him, indeed, extremely, not only for the singular integrity and modesty of his heart, but as he is a most excellent second to me in those contests wherein I am sometimes engaged with certain jovial Epicurean companions of yours. He lately joined me at Laodicea, where I am very desirous of detaining him; but he received an unexpected letter, which has given him great uneasiness. The

treatises, that were extant in Plutarch's time. Cineas was one of the generals who commanded under this heroic prince; and who, as it should seem from this passage, had likewise distinguished himself by his military writings.—*Plut. in vit. Pyrrhi.*

purport of it is, that his brother has advertised his intentions of selling an estate at Herculaneum, * in which they are both equally interested. This news exceedingly alarms my friend; and as his brother's understanding is not extremely strong, he is inclined to think he has been instigated by some of their common enemies to take this very extraordinary measure. Let me then entreat you, my dear Pætus, if you have any friendship for me, to ease Fabius of the trouble of this affair, by receiving the whole burthen of it upon yourself. We shall have occasion for your authority, your advice, and your interest; and I hope you will exert them all, in order to prevent these two brothers from the disgrace of appearing as adversaries in a court of justice. I must not forget to tell you, that the persons whom Fabius suspects to be the malicious authors of this advice to his brother, are Mato and Pollio. To say all in one word, I shall think myself inexpressibly obliged, if you ease my friend of this troublesome affair; a favour, he persuades me, entirely in your power. Farewell.

* The famous city near Naples, which was swallowed up by an earthquake in the reign of Vespasian; and which is now furnishing the literary world with so many invaluable treasures of antiquity.

LETTER III.

[A. U. 703.]

TO CÆLIUS CALDUS,* QUÆSTOR ELECT.

WHEN I received the very acceptable news of your being elected my quæstor, I was well persuaded, that the longer you continued with me in this province, the more I should have occasion to be satisfied with that choice. It is of importance to the public relation, which has thus arisen between us, that it should be improved by a nearer intercourse. But, having received no account either from yourself or any other of my friends, of your being set forward on your way hither, I began to be apprehensive, (what I still fear,) that I should

* He was a young man of a noble family, and this seems to have been the whole of his merit. For, notwithstanding Cicero addresses him in this letter, as one of whose talents and virtues he had conceived a favourable opinion, it is certain his real sentiments of him were far different. This appears from an epistle to Atticus, where both the morals and understanding of Caldus are mentioned in terms greatly to his disadvantage. *Nos provinciæ præficimus Cælium : puerum inquires, et fortasse faluum, et non gravem, et non continentem. Assentior ; fieri non potuit aliter.* Ad Att. vi. 6. See the 13th letter of this Book.

leave this province before your arrival. I was favoured, 'tis true, with a most obliging and polite letter from you, on the 22d of June, whilst I was encamped in Cilicia; and it afforded me a very pleasing instance both of your abilities and friendly disposition. But it was without any date, nor did it mention when I might expect you. The person, likewise, that delivered it, not having received it immediately from your own hands, could give me no information either when, or from what place it was written. Nevertheless, I thought proper to dispatch my couriers and lictors with this express; and if it reaches you time enough, you will greatly oblige me, by meeting me in Cilicia as soon as possible.

The strong letters I received in your behalf, from your relations, Curius and Virgilius, had all the influence which is due to the recommendations of such very intimate and very worthy friends; but your own letter had still a greater. Believe me, there is no man whom I should have rather wished for my quæstor; and I shall endeavour to shew the world, by distinguishing you with every honour in my power, that I pay all the regard which is so justly due to your own personal merit, as well as to that of your illustrious ancestors. But this I shall the more easily be enabled to effect, if you should meet me in Cilicia; a circumstance in which

not only the public interest and mine, but particularly your own, is, I think, nearly concerned. Farewell.

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 703.]

TO MARCUS CÆLIUS, CURULE-ÆDILE.

I AM extremely anxious concerning affairs at Rome, as I hear there have been great disturbances in the general assemblies of the people,* and that the festival of Minerva† was celebrated in a most riotous manner. But my intelligence goes no lower than that period, and I am altogether uninformed of any thing which has since passed. Yet nothing mortifies me more than being prevented the pleasure of laughing with you at several ridiculous incidents which attended, I am told, these public tumults; but they are of such a delicate nature, that

* Manutius conjectures, that this alludes to the disturbances which some of the tribunes occasioned at Rome, in opposing the attempts of the Pompeian party to divest Cæsar of his government in Gaul. At the head of these tribunes, Curio, who had lately changed sides, now chose to distinguish himself. *Vid. Ad Att. vi. 2.*

† This festival was celebrated on the 19th of March, and continued five days.

I dare not mention them in a letter. I am a good deal uneasy, likewise, at not having received any account of these commotions from yourself. For which reason, notwithstanding I shall be set out for Italy before this reaches your hand, yet I hope I shall meet a letter from you upon the road, that I may not arrive an utter stranger to the state of public affairs; as I am sure no man is more capable of instructing me concerning them than yourself.

Your agent, the worthy Diogenes, together with your freedman Philo,* parted from me at Pessinus,† in order to proceed on their journey to the king of‡ Galatia; though, with little hopes of succeeding at a court neither very able nor very willing to comply with the purposes of their embassy.

Rome, my friend, Rome alone, is the object that merits your attention; and may you ever live within the splendour of that illustrious scene! All foreign employments (and it was my sentiments from my first entrance into the world) are below the

* Cælius mentions these persons in a former letter, as being employed by him to execute some commission in this part of the world; but the nature of the business with which they were charged, does not appear. *Vid. Ep. Fam. viii. 8.*

† A city in Phrygia, within the jurisdiction of Cicero's government.

‡ Deiotarus.

ambition of those who have talents to distinguish themselves on that more conspicuous theatre. And would to God, as I was ever well convinced of this truth, that I had always acted accordingly ! Be assured, the pleasure of a single walk with you, would afford me more satisfaction than all the advantages I can derive from my government. I hope, indeed, I shall receive the applause of having conducted myself, throughout my administration, with an untainted integrity ; however, I should have merited as much honour by refusing the government of this province, as by having thus preserved it from the hands of our enemies. “ But where then,” you will ask, perhaps, “ had been the hopes of a triumph ? ” Believe me, I shou'd have deemed that loss well compensated, by escaping so long and so tedious a separation from all that I hold most valuable. But I hope I shall now soon be with you. In the mean time, let me meet a letter from you, worthy of your political penetration.* Farewell.

* In the original it is only said, *mihi mitte epistolas te dignas*. But it seems evident what Cicero had in his thoughts, by a passage a little higher in this letter : *obviæ mihi velim sint litteræ tuæ, quæ me erudiant de omni republica*. And our author frequently speaks of Cœlius as one of that sort of discerning politicians, who, in the language of Shakespeare,

—can look into the seeds of time,

And say which grain will grow, and which will not.

MACBETH.

LETTER V.

[A. U. 703.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

WHILST I lay encamped on the banks of the Pyramus,* I received two letters from you, and both at the same time, which Quintus Servilius forwarded to me from Tarsus. One of them was dated on the 5th of April, but the other, which seemed to have been written later, was without any date. I will answer the former, therefore, in the first place, wherein you give me an account of your having been acquitted of the impeachment exhibited against you for mal-administration in this province. I had before been apprised of many circumstances of this event by various letters and expresses, as well as by general report; as, indeed, there never was any occurrence more particularly known. Not that it was in the least unexpected, but because the world is usually very minute in its accounts of all that concerns the honour of so distinguished a character. But, notwithstanding your letter was thus in some measure anticipated, yet it heightened my satisfaction to receive the same good news from your own

* A river in Cilicia.

hand. My information was by this means not only more full than what I had learnt from common fame, but it brought you nearer to my imagination, and rendered you in some sort present to those sentiments of joy which arose upon this occasion in my heart. Accordingly, I embraced you in my thoughts, and kissed the letter that gave me so much reason to rejoice, upon my own account, as well as upon yours. I say upon my own account, because I look upon those honours which are thus paid by the general voice of my country, to virtue, industry, and genius, as paid to myself; being too much disposed, perhaps, to imagine, that these are qualities to which my own character is no stranger. But though I am by no means surprized that this trial should have ended so much to your credit, yet I cannot forbear being astonished at that mean and unworthy spirit which induced your enemies* to engage in this prosecution.

But you will tell me, perhaps, that I am premature in my congratulations; for, while there is a charge still subsisting against you, what imports it, you will possibly ask, of which impeachment you are first acquitted? And I must confess, it is a point

* It may be unnecessary, perhaps, to remind the reader, that this alludes to Dolabella, whose friendship and alliance Cicero was at this time courting.

of no consequence with respect to your character; for you are not only perfectly innocent of both accusations, but are so far from having committed any action injurious to the honour of the republic, that you have greatly contributed to raise and extend its glory.* However, there is this advantage gained by your present victory, that the principal difficulty of the whole contest is now over. For, by

* Cicero himself will furnish the most proper comment upon this passage. For, in a letter to Atticus, written not many months before the present, he describes the conduct of Appius, in Cilicia, in terms which shew that he was far from being unjustly arraigned by Dolabella. He represents him as having spread desolation through the province by fire and sword; as having left nothing behind him which he could possibly carry away, and as having suffered his officers to commit all kinds of violences which lust and avarice could suggest: “And I am going,” says he, “this very morning, to repeal several of his iniquitous edicts.” Appius, *cum ἐξ ἀφαιγεσεως provinciam curarit, sanguinem miserit, quidquid potuit detraxerit, mihi tradiderit enectam, &c.*—*Quid dicam de illius præfectis, comitibus, legatis? etiam de rapinis, de libidinibus, de contumeliis!*—*Eo ipse die, quo hæc ante lucem scribebam, cogitabam ejus multa inique constituta et acta tollere.* It is pleasant to observe, upon some occasions, the different colours in which the same character is painted by different hands; but one has not so frequently the opportunity of hearing the same conduct thus abused and thus applauded by the same man, and almost too, in the same breath. *Ad Att. vi. 1.*

the terms in which Sylla's law is drawn up, concerning offences against the state, and upon which your first prosecution was founded, it is easy for any man to give a colour to the most groundless charge. Whereas an information of bribery turns upon a fact in its own nature notorious, as no man can be guilty of this crime, unobserved by the public; and consequently either the prosecutor, or the person accused, must evidently, and beyond all power of artifice, appear infamous. But who ever entertained even the slightest suspicions of your having obtained the high dignities through which you have passed, by illegal methods? How do I regret that I could not be present at these prosecutions, that I might have exposed them to all the ridicule they so justly deserve!

You mentioned two circumstances which attended your trial, that afforded me particular satisfaction. The one is, that general zeal which was expressed by the whole republic in your behalf; the other, that generous and friendly part which both Pompey and Brutus have acted towards you in this conjuncture. With regard to the first, it would undoubtedly have been the interest of the commonwealth, even in the most flourishing periods of heroic virtue, to have distinguished a citizen of your exalted merit; but it is more especially so in the present age, when there are so few of the same

patriot character, to whom she can look up for protection. And as to the latter, I sincerely rejoice that your two relations, and my very particular friends, have thus warmly and zealously exerted themselves in your cause. The truth of it is, I look upon Pompey as the most considerable man that any age or nation has ever produced;* and

* In the last note, I took occasion to contrast Cicero with himself, in respect to his sentiments and his professions of Appius. The present passage affords an opportunity of shewing him in the same opposition with regard to Pompey. The author, then, of this encomium, has elsewhere said of the hero of his present panegyric, that “ he was artful and “ ungentle in his common intercourse; and as to his political conduct, that was altogether void of every thing “ great or disinterested, and utterly unworthy of a man who “ meant well to the liberty of his country.” *Nihil come, nihil simplex, nihil εν τοις πολιτικοις honestum, nihil illustre, nihil forte, nihil liberum.* This character, ’tis true, was drawn several years before the date of the present letter; and different sentiments of the same man, at different times, are perfectly reconcileable, no doubt, with truth and sincerity. But there is extant a letter to Atticus, written after this to Appius, and at the distance too of not many months, wherein Cicero expresses the same contemptible opinion of Pompey: *Ego hominem απολιτικοτατον* (says he) *omnium jam ante cognorum, nunc vero etiam ασεβητατατον.* And in another still more recent letter to Atticus, he asserts, that Pompey’s political conduct had been full of mistakes during the last ten years: *Ut enim alia decem annorum peccata omit-*

Brutus, I am persuaded, will soon rise to the same honourable pre-eminence above his fellow-citizens in general, which now distinguishes him among our youth in particular.

With regard to those witnesses who were suborned to give evidence against you, it shall be my care, when I pass through Asia, (if Flaccus has not already prevented me,) to bring them to condign punishment. And now let me turn to your second letter.

I received great pleasure from the judicious sketch you communicated to me of public affairs. It appears, that the dangers of the commonwealth are much less considerable, as well as her resources much more powerful, than I imagined, since the principal strength of Rome is united (as you inform me) under Pompey. It afforded me much satisfaction, at the same time, to remark that spirit of patriotism which animates your letter; and I am infinitely obliged to you, likewise, that you should

tam, &c. The truth of it is, Cicero seldom continues long in the same sentiments, or at least the same language of Pompey; and if he raises a trophy to his fame in one letter, we may be almost sure of seeing it reversed in another. If our author's judgment and penetration were less unquestionable, these variations from himself might be imputed to a more favourable cause than can now, perhaps, be reasonably assigned. *Ad Att.* 1. 13. viii. 16. vii. 13.

suspend your own more important occupations, in order to teach me what judgment to form of our political situation. As to your treatise upon augury,* I beg you would reserve it to a season when we shall both of us be more disengaged. When I reminded you of that design, I imagined you were wholly unemployed, and waiting in the suburbs of Rome the determination of your petition.† But I shall now expect your orations‡ in its stead; and hope, agreeably to your promise, that you will send me such of those performances as have received your last hand.

Tullus, whom you charged, it seems, with a commission to me, is not yet arrived; nor have I any other of your friends with me, except those of my own train; every one of whom I may with strict propriety call yours.

I do not well know what particular letters you mean by those which you call my *angry ones*. I have written twice, 'tis true, in order fully to justify myself against your suspicions, as well as ten-

* See Vol. I. p. 295. note.

† For a triumph.

‡ Appius maintained some rank in the republic as an orator, and was well skilled likewise in the laws and antiquities of his country. The orations which Cicero enquires after were probably those which Appius spoke in defence of himself on these trials. *De Clar. Orat.* 297.

derly to reprove you, for too hastily crediting reports to my disadvantage; and I thought I acted in this agreeably to the strictest friendship; but since you seem to be displeased with what I said, I shall not take the same liberty for the future. However, if these letters were not, as you tell me, marked with my usual vein of eloquence, I desire you would consider them as none of mine. For, as Aristarchus * insisted that every verse in Homer was spurious, which he did not approve, I desire you would in the same manner look upon every line which you think unrhetorical, as not the produce of my pen. You see I am in a humour to be jocose. Farewell; and if you are (as I sincerely hope) in the possession of the censorial office, reflect often on the virtues of your illustrious ancestor.†

* A celebrated critic, who flourished at Alexandria 176 years before Christ. He is said to have left two sons behind him, both of them fools; but they will not, perhaps, be thought to have degenerated very greatly from their father, if what is reported of him be true, that he wrote above a thousand commentaries upon different authors. *Miser si tam multa supervacua legisset!*

† The commentators suppose that Cicero alludes to Appius Claudius Coecus, who was censor in the year of Rome 442. He distinguished himself in his office by two works of great utility to the public; for he made that famous road called the *Via Appia*, part of which subsists to this day;

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 703.]

FROM MARCUS CÆLIUS.

WE met with a difficulty that greatly embarrassed our schemes for procuring you a thanksgiving; but a difficulty, however, which we were not long in surmounting. For Curio, notwithstanding he is much in your interest, declared that, as all his attempts for convening a general assembly of the people had been obstructed,* he would by no means suffer the senate to pass any decree of the kind in question. If he were to depart, he said, from this resolution, it would look like giving up the advantages he had gained by the indiscreet zeal of the consul Paulus, and he should be considered as de-

and was the first, likewise, that supplied the city of Rome with water, by conveying the river Anio through an aqueduct of eleven miles in length. *Liv. ix. 29.*

* Paulus, one of the present consuls, not having yet sacrificed his integrity to his interest, very warmly opposed the attempts of Curio, who was endeavouring to procure certain laws from the people in favour of Cæsar's present designs. Curio, in revenge, would not suffer any business to proceed in the senate; a power with which he was invested as tribune of the people.

serting the cause of the public. In order, therefore, effectually to remove this objection, we entered into an agreement with him, that if he would suffer the decree for your thanksgiving to pass, no other thanksgiving should be proclaimed during the remainder of this year, to which the consuls likewise consented. Your acknowledgments are accordingly due to them both, but particularly to Paulus; for he came wholly and readily into our proposal, in the most obliging manner; whereas Marcellus somewhat lessened the merit of his compliance, by telling us, that “the affair of these thanksgivings was an article upon which he laid no sort of stress.” After having thus adjusted matters with Curio, we were informed that Hirrus intended to defeat our measures, by lengthening out the debates,* when the question should come before the senate. Our next business, therefore, was to make our applications on that side; which we so successfully did, that we not only prevailed with him to

* A very singular custom prevailed in the Roman senate, with regard to their method of debating; for when a senator was required to deliver his sentiments on the point in question, he was at liberty to harangue on any other subject as long as he thought proper. This method was frequently employed to postpone a decree by those of an opposite party, when they found the majority was likely to be against them.

drop this design, but when the question was moved concerning the number of the enemies forces, and he might easily have prevented the decree, by requiring a list of the slain,* he sat entirely silent. Indeed the single opposition he gave to us, was by voting with Cato; who, though he would not assent to this motion, spoke of your conduct, however, in very honourable terms. I must not forget to mention Favonius, likewise, as a third in this party. You will distribute your thanks, therefore, as they are respectively due:—to the three last, for not preventing this decree, when it was both in their inclination and their power to have done so; and to Curio, for making an exception in your favour to the general rule he had laid down to himself. Furnius and Lentulus laboured in this affair, as they ought, with as much zeal as if it had been their own, and went about with me in all my applications to solicit votes. It is but justice to Balbus Cornelius,† to name him too in the catalogue of your active friends. He exerted himself, in truth,

* The number of slain necessary to entitle a general to the honour of a triumph, was 5000; but, as a public thanksgiving was a distinction of an inferior nature, perhaps a less number might be sufficient. *Val. Max.* ii. 8.

† I have already had occasion to observe, that Balbus acted as a kind of superintendant of Cæsar's political affairs at Rome.

with great spirit in gaining over Curio ; to whom he warmly remonstrated, that if he continued to obstruct the senate in this article, it would affect the interest of Cæsar,* and consequently render his own sincerity suspicious.† Among those who voted in your favour, there were some that, in their hearts, nevertheless, were by no means well-wishers to the decree. In this number were the Domitii and the Scipios ; in allusion to which, Curio made them a very smart reply, when they affected to be extremely importunate with him to withdraw his protest. “ I am the more inclined,” said he, “ to do so, as I am sure it would be a terrible disappointment to some who have voted on the other side.”

As to political affairs, the efforts of all parties are at present directed to a single point ; and the general contest still is in relation to the provinces. Pompey seems to unite in earnest with the senate, that the 13th‡ of November may be limited for

* As Cicero's popular talents could not but render him of service to any party he should espouse, he was at this time courted both by Pompey and Cæsar.

† That is, with respect to Cæsar ; in whose interest Curio had lately declared himself.

‡ The commencement of Cæsar's government in Gaul cannot be dated higher than the year of Rome 695 ; for it is unanimously agreed by all the ancient historians, that he was consul in the year 694. This government was at first

Cæsar's resigning his government. Curio, on the contrary, is determined to oppose this to the utmost; and, accordingly, has relinquished all his other schemes, in order to apply his whole strength to the affair in question. As to our party,* you

granted to him for five years, and afterwards enlarged for five more. Agreeably to this computation, therefore, the legal period of his administration could not expire till the year 705; yet Cicero, in a letter to Atticus, written in the very beginning of the year 704, speaks of it as absolutely completed. Cæsar, on the contrary, in the harangue which he made to his army, just before his march into Italy, in the commencement of the same year, expressly says, that they had served under him nine years; and it appears, by what he mentions soon afterwards, that there wanted six months to complete his decennial period when he was recalled from his government. The historians, likewise, are neither agreed with themselves, nor with each other, in their account of the continuance of Cæsar's administration in Gaul. For Suetonius in one place calls it nine years, and in another ten; whereas, Dion Cassius expressly says it was but eight. As the decision of this difficulty would prove very little entertaining to the generality of English readers, it is only marked out for the consideration of those, who may think the solution worth their inquiry. *Vid. Ad Att. vii. 9. Cæs. Bel. Civil. i. 7. 9. Suet. in Jul. 25. 69. Dio. xliv. p. 263.*

* This party was what they called the *optimates*, and which, in modern language, might be termed the "country party." They wanted not only spirit, but unanimity, to act

well know their irresolution; and, consequently, will readily believe me when I tell you, they have not the spirit to push their opposition to the last extremity. The whole mystery of the scene, in short, is this: Pompey, that he may not seem to oppose Cæsar, or to aim at any thing but what the latter shall think perfectly equitable, represents Curio as acting in this affair merely upon his own authority, and with no other view than to create disturbances. It is certain, at the same time, that Pompey is much averse to Cæsar's being elected consul, before he shall have delivered up his government, together with the command of the army; and, indeed, he seems to be extremely apprehensive of the consequences, if it should prove otherwise. In the mean while, he is severely attacked by Curio, who is perpetually reproaching him with deviating from the principles upon which he acted in his second consulship. Take my word for it, notwithstanding all the difficulties they may throw in Curio's way, Cæsar will never want a friend to rise up in his cause; and if the whole turns, as they seem to fear, upon his procuring some tribune to interpose his negative to their decrees, I will ven-

to any effectual purpose: *non enim boni, ut putant, consentiunt*, says Cicero, in a letter to Atticus, vii. 5.

ture to pronounce, that he may remain in Gaul as long as he shall think proper.

You will find the several opinions of the senators, in relation to this affair, in the newspaper which I herewith send to you. I leave you to select such articles as you may think worthy of notice; for though I have omitted all the idle stories of such a man being hissed* at the public games, of another being buried with great funeral pomp, together with various impertinencies of the same uninteresting kind; it still abounds with many paragraphs of little moment. However, I chose to err on the right side; and had rather hazard informing you of what you may not, perhaps, desire to hear, than pass over any thing material.

I am glad to find, that your care has not been wanting to procure me satisfaction from Sittius; and since you suspect that affair is not in very safe hands, I entreat you to take it altogether into your own. Farewell.

* It was usual with the populace, when any person, who had incurred their displeasure, entered the places of public entertainments, to express their resentments by a general hiss. An instance of this kind, which happened with regard to the celebrated Hortensius, is mentioned in the 29th letter of the third Book. See p. 7. of this Volume.

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 703.]

TO CANINIUS SALLUSTIUS,* PROQUÆSTOR.

YOUR courier delivered both your letters to me at Taurus, on the 17th of July; which I will answer, as you seem to desire, according to their respective dates.

I have heard no news of my successor, and, indeed, I am inclined to believe, that none will be appointed. Nevertheless, I see no occasion for my continuance in this province after the expiration of my year; † especially now that all our fears are over with respect to the Parthians. I do not propose to stay at any place in my return; though, perhaps, I may visit Rhodes, in order to shew that city to my son and nephew; ‡ but of this I am not

* Nothing more is known of this person than what may be collected from the present letter; by which it appears, that he was quæstor to Bibulus in Syria.

† That period was now within a few days of expiring; for the letter before us could not have been written sooner than the 17th of July, and Cicero's administration ended on the last day of the same month; computing it from the time he entered his province. *Vid. Ep. Fam. xv. 2.*

‡ "The island of Rhodes is situated in the Mediterra-

yet determined. The truth is, I am desirous of reaching Rome as soon as possible; however, I shall regulate my journey according to the posture of public affairs. But I am afraid it will be impossible for your successor to be so expeditious, as to give you an opportunity of joining me in Asia.

As to what you mention concerning your accounts, it may save you, I confess, some trouble, to make use of the dispensation which Bibulus, it seems, is willing to grant. But I think you can scarce neglect delivering them in, without violating the Julian law;* and though Bibulus may have his particular reasons† for not paying obedience

“nean, not far from the coast of Lycia and Caria. It had
“a city of the same name, which was at this time much
“celebrated and resorted to, on account of its schools of
“eloquence and philosophy. Cicero himself, in the course
“of his travels, resided some time here, and applied him-
“self to the study of oratory under the direction of Molo,
“who was both an experienced pleader and fine writer.”
Mr *Ross*.

* Julius Cæsar procured a law in his first consulâte, by which it was enacted, that the several magistrates in the provinces should deposite a copy of their respective accounts in the two principal cities of their government.
Pigh. Annal. i. 352.

† Bibulus, in the year of Rome 694, was elected joint consul with Cæsar, by whom he was treated with great contempt and indignity for endeavouring to withstand the

to that ordinance, I cannot but strongly advise your observing its injunctions.

I find you agree with some others of my friends, in thinking, that I ought not to have drawn the troops out of Apamea; and I am sorry I should have given occasion, by that step, to the malicious censures of my enemies. But you are singular in doubting whether the Parthians had at that time actually repassed the Euphrates. It was in full confidence of a fact so universally confirmed, that I evacuated the several garrisons of those brave and numerous troops with which I had filled them.

It is by no means reasonable, that I should transmit my quæstor's accounts to you; nor indeed are they yet settled. I intend, however, to deposite a copy of them at Apamea. In answer to what you mention, concerning the booty we took from the Parthians in this war, let me assure you, that no man shall touch any part of it, except the city quæstors on behalf of the public. I purpose to leave the money at Laodicea, which shall arise from the sale of those spoils, and to take security

violent measures of his administration. [See Vol. I. p. 174. note.] It is probable, therefore, that Bibulus, in resentment of these injuries, refused to acknowledge the validity of the law mentioned in the preceding note; as not having been passed, perhaps, with all the necessary formalities.

for its being paid in Rome ; in order to avoid the hazard, both to myself and the commonwealth, of conveying it in specie. As to your request concerning the 100,000 drachmas,* it is not in my power to comply with it. For the chests of money taken in war, fall under the direction of the præfects, in the same manner as all other plunder ; and the particular share that belongs to myself, is in the hands of the quæstor. In return to your question, what my thoughts are concerning the legions which have received orders to march into Syria, I always doubted of their arrival. But I am now fully persuaded, if it should be known at Rome that every thing is quiet in your province, before those forces enter Syria, that they will certainly be countermanded. And as the senate has appointed your successor, Marius, to conduct those troops, I imagine it will be a considerable time before you see him. Thus far in reply to your first letter : I am now to take notice of your second.

I want no inclination to recommend you, as you desire, in the strongest manner to Bibulus ; but I must take this opportunity of chiding you a little, for having never acquainted me of the ill, though unmerited, terms on which I stand with him.† You

* About 3000*l.* of our money.

† Notwithstanding Cicero represents the disgust which

are, indeed, the only one of my friends among his officers who omitted to inform me, that when the city of Antiochia was in a general consternation from the late invasion of the Parthians, and their great hopes depended upon me and my army, that Bibulus often declared, he would suffer the last extremity rather than be obliged to my assistance. However, I was not offended at your silence, as I imputed it to that particular and powerful connection in which you stood related to him as his quæstor, though I was not ignorant, at the same time, of the manner in which he treated you. But his unfriendly disposition appeared likewise in another instance; for though he dispatched a courier to Thermus, with an account of the irruption of the Parthians, he did not think proper to communicate any intelligence of that kind to me, notwithstanding he well knew that I was particularly concerned in the consequence of that invasion.* The single letter I received from him, was, to desire my interest when his son was soliciting the office of augur;

Bibulus had conceived against him to have been altogether without foundation, yet (as Manutius justly observes upon this passage) he had great reason to be offended; for Cicero had been a principal promoter of those excessive honours which had been paid to Cæsar.—See p. 231. note.

* Cicero's province being contiguous to that of Syria.

to which, in compliance with those sentiments I ever bore towards him, and in tenderness to the affliction under which he then laboured,* I endeavoured to return him the most civil and friendly answer I was capable. If this behaviour proceeded from a general moroseness of temper, (which, I confess, I never took to be his disposition,) I have the less reason to complain; but if it arose from any particular coolness to myself, my recommendations can nothing avail you. I am inclined to suspect the latter, from the whole tenor of his conduct towards me. For, in his late dispatches to the senate, he is pleased to usurp the entire credit of an affair, in which I was jointly concerned with him; and assures that venerable assembly, that “he had taken proper care to settle the *exchange* † “in such a manner as would be most advantageous “to the public.” He mentions, at the same time, as his own act, what was solely and absolutely

* Two of his sons had lately been murdered at Alexandria by some Roman soldiers. Seneca mentions the behaviour of Bibulus, upon this occasion, as an example of philosophical magnanimity; for the very next day after he had received this afflicting news, he had the resolution to appear in the public exercise of his proconsular office.—*Val. Max.* iv. 1. *Senec. consul. ad marc.* 14.

† Of the public money, which was to be remitted from Cilicia and Syria to the treasury at Rome.

mine; and says, that, "in order to ease the people of the burden of maintaining the Lombard troops,* he forebore to demand them." On the other hand, he thought proper to give me part in an action which belongs altogether to himself; and names me in the letter I am speaking of, as "joining in his application for a larger allowance of corn for the use of the auxiliary troops." To point out another instance, also, which betrays the meanest and most contemptible malevolence; Ariobarzanes having been particularly recommended by the senate to my protection,† and it being by my means they were prevailed upon to acknowledge his regal title, Bibulus constantly speaks of him, throughout his letter, under the degrading appellation of "the son of the late king." My recommendation, therefore, to a person thus ill-disposed towards me, would only render him so much the more disinclined to serve you. Nevertheless, I herewith inclose a letter, which I have written to him, in compliance with your request; and I leave it to your own discretion, to make what use of it you shall think proper. Farewell.

* Which were raised in order to be sent against the Parthians.

† See Let. 1. of Book iv.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 703.]

MARCUS CÆLIUS TO CICERO.

I CONGRATULATE you on your alliance* with so worthy a man as Dolabella; for such I sincerely think him. His former conduct, it is true, has not been altogether for his own advantage. But time has now worn out those little indiscretions of his youth; at least if any of them should still remain, the authority and advantage of your advice and friendship, together with the good sense of Tullia, will soon, I am confident, reclaim him. He is by no means, indeed, obstinate in his errors; and it is not from any incapacity of discerning better, whenever he deviates from the right path. To say all in one word, I infinitely love him.

Do you know, my dear Cicero, what a victory Curio has lately obtained in relation to the provinces? The senate, in pursuance of a former order, having assembled to consider of the obstruction which some of the tribunes had given to their de-

* See p. 197. note.

cree,* Marcus Marcellus moved, that application might be made to those magistrates to withdraw their protest; but it was carried in the negative by a considerable majority. Pompey is at present in such delicate circumstances, that he will scarce find any measures, I believe, perfectly to his satisfaction. The senate, however, seemed to intend, by the resolution I just now mentioned,† that Cæsar shall be admitted as a candidate for the consulship, notwithstanding he should refuse to resign his government. What effect this may have upon Pompey, you shall know as soon as I can discover.‡ In the mean time, it imports you wealthy veterans to consider what methods to pursue, in case the latter should appear either unable or unwilling to support the republic.

* This decree, together with the protest of the tribunes here mentioned, is inserted at large in the 7th letter of the 4th Book.

† Cicero speaks of this resolution in a letter to Atticus, and produces it as a proof, that the intentions of the senate were not true to the interest of the commonwealth. For had the motion of Marcellus been vigorously supported, Curio's opposition, he says, would have been in vain, and Cæsar must necessarily have resigned his command.—*Ad Att.* vii. 7.

‡ There is evidently some error in the Latin text; which

Hortensius* lies at the point of death. Farewell.

runs thus, *Quemadmodum hoc laturus Pompeius sit, cum cognoscat, quidnam reipublicæ futurum sit, si aut non curet, vos senes, &c.* I have ventured, though unsupported by any of the manuscripts or commentators, to read this passage in the following manner: *Quemadmodum hoc Pompeius laturus sit, cum cognoscam, te certiore faciam. Quidnam reip. futurum sit, si aut non possit, aut non curet, vos, &c.*

* Hortensius would have been considered as the noblest orator that ever shined in the Roman Forum, if Cicero had not risen with superior lustre. There was a peculiar eloquence in his manner, as well as in his expression; and it was difficult to determine whether his audience beheld the grace of his action, or listened to the charms of his rhetoric, with greater admiration and pleasure. Cicero often celebrates him for the prodigious strength of his memory; of which the elder Seneca has recorded a remarkable instance. He undertook, it seems, as a proof of its force, to attend a whole day at a public auction, and give an exact account of every thing that was put up to sale, of the price at which it was sold, and of the name of every particular purchaser; and this he accordingly executed without failing in a single article. Cicero received the news of his death with real concern; for though there was a perpetual emulation, there was a mutual friendship nevertheless between them. This harmony, so unusual with those who contend together for the same prize, was greatly owing to the good offices of Atticus; who seems indeed, upon all occasions, (and it is the most amiable part of his very singular character,) to have employed the remarkable influence

LETTER IX.

[A. U. 703.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

THAT I may answer your letter in due form, let me pay my congratulations to you in the first place, and then turn to what concerns myself.

Be assured, the account you gave me concerning the event of your trial on the information for bribery,* afforded me great pleasure. Not because you were acquitted; for I never entertained the least doubt of the contrary; but to find, that there was not a single judge who dared throw in a negative upon your innocence, even under all the secrecy and safety which the method of ballotting would have secured to his malice. This is a circumstance altogether extraordinary; a circumstance, indeed, so little agreeable to the general principles and purposes of the present depraved generation, that

he enjoyed with all parties, in reconciling differences, and cementing friendships. Hortensius was about six years older than Cicero; and died in the 63d year of his age.—*Val. Max.* viii. 10. *Cic. de clar. orat.* 301. *Senec. controvers.* i. *in præm.* *Ad Att.* vi. 6. viii. 8. *Corn. Nep. in Vit. Att.* 5.

* See p. 149. note.

the more I reflect on your high rank, on your public and private virtues, and on the distinguished honours to which they have exalted you, the more I consider it with astonishment. I can truly say, no occurrence has happened for a considerable time that surprized me more.

And now, let me entreat you, to imagine yourself for a moment in my situation, with respect to the affair you mentioned; * and if you should then find that you are under no difficulties, I will not desire you to excuse mine. You will allow me to join in your own good-natured wishes, that an alliance, which was conducted without my knowledge, may prove happy both to me and to my daughter. I will venture to hope, too, that something may be derived not altogether unfavourable to my wishes,† even from the particular conjuncture wherein this transaction has happened; though I must add, that nothing encourages me in this hope so much as the sentiments I entertain of your candour and good sense. What farther to say I know not. On the one hand, it would not become me to speak with

* The marriage of Cicero's daughter with Dolabella.

† What Cicero seems to intimate in this passage, is, that he might probably be enabled, by the influence which his alliance would give him with Dolabella, to infuse into him a more favourable disposition towards Appius.

more despondency of an affair, to which you have kindly given your favourable presages; on the other, there are some lights in which I cannot view it without uneasiness. I am apprehensive, indeed, lest you should not be sufficiently persuaded, that this treaty was managed without my privity;* as, in truth, it was by some of my friends, to whom I gave a general commission to act in my absence as they should judge proper, without referring themselves, at this great distance, to me. But if you ask what measures I would have taken, had I been present? I will freely own, I should have approved of the match;† though, as to the time of consummating it, I should certainly have done nothing either without your advice, or contrary to your inclination.

You have already discovered, I dare say, how

* See p. 197. note.

† Cicero had surely forgotten what he said to Appius in a former letter. For, taking notice of the report which Dolabella had spread concerning this match, he affirms there was so little of truth in it, that he would much sooner renounce all former correspondence with Dolabella, than enter into a new connection with a man who had declared himself the enemy of Appius. *Ego citius cum eo, qui tuas inimicitias suscepisset, veterem conjunctionem diremissem, quam novam conciliassem.*—Ep. Fam. iii. 10. See the first letter of this Book.

terribly I am perplexed between apologizing for a step which I am obliged to defend, and avoiding, at the same time, saying any thing that may give you offence. Have so much charity, therefore, I beseech you, as to ease me of this embarrassment ; for, in fair truth, I never pleaded a more difficult cause. Of this, however, be well persuaded, that had I not, ere I was informed of this alliance, completed my good offices in your service, it would have induced me to defend your reputation, not indeed with more zeal, (for that would have been impossible,) but certainly with so much the more conspicuous and significant testimonies of my friendship.

The first notice that was given me of this marriage, was by a letter which I received on the 3d of August, upon my arrival at Sida ; at which city I touched in my voyage from the province. Your friend Servilius, who was then with me, seemed a good deal concerned at the news ; but I assured him, that the only effect it would have, with respect to myself, would be to give an additional strength to my future services in your behalf. To be short, though it cannot increase my affection for you, it has increased my endeavours of rendering that affection more evident ; and as our former disunion made me so much the more cautious to avoid affording the least suspicion that my reconciliation

with you was not thoroughly sincere ; so this alliance will heighten my care not to give the world reason to think that it has in any degree impaired the strength of that perfect friendship I bear you. Farewell.

LETTER X.

[A. U. 703.]

TO MARCUS CATO.*

PRAISE from thy lips 'tis mine with pride to boast ;
He best can give it who deserves it most :

as Hector, I think, says to the venerable Priam, in one of Nævius's plays. Honourable, indeed, is that approbation which is bestowed by those who have themselves been the constant object of universal applause. Accordingly, I esteem the encomiums you conferred upon me in the senate, together with your congratulatory letter, as a distinction of the highest and most illustrious kind.† Nothing could

* This letter is an answer to the second in the preceding Book, p. 143.

† Cicero was at this time well pleased with the part which Cato had acted towards him ; for he tells Atticus, what he likewise says in this letter, that “ he looked upon “ the applauses which the former had conferred upon him

be more agreeable to my wishes, as nothing could be more glorious for my reputation, than your having thus freely given to friendship, whatever you could strictly give to truth. Were Rome entirely

“ in the senate, as preferable to all the triumphs in the “ world.” But he soon changed his language; and, in his subsequent letters to Atticus, he expresses himself with great warmth and indignation against Cato’s behaviour in this very article. Cato, it seems, had granted to Bibulus what he refused to Cicero, and voted that a general thanksgiving should be appointed for the success of the former in Syria. This was a preference which Cicero could not digest, and he complains of it to Atticus in terms to the following purpose: “ Cato,” says he, “ has given me his applauses, “ which I *did not desire*, but refused me his suffrage, though “ I earnestly requested it. Yet this ungrateful man has “ voted, that a thanksgiving shall be appointed for twenty “ days, in honour of Bibulus. Pardon me for saying it; “ but I neither can, nor will forgive so injurious a treatment.” Cicero ascribes this conduct of Cato to envy; and his ingenious translator, Monsieur Mongault, imputes it to partiality. On the contrary, I am persuaded it flowed neither from the one nor the other, but was the pure result of that impartial justice, which seems, upon all occurrences, to have invariably determined his actions. For Cicero had undoubtedly no claim to the honour he demanded; and for this reason, among others, because the number of the slain on the side of the enemy was not so great as the laws in these cases required. [Vid. *Ep. Fam.* viii. 11.] But it is probable, that the claim of Bibulus was supported by all the *legal* requisites. For though the Parthians were

composed of Catos, or could it produce many (as it is surprising it can furnish even one) of that venerable character, my desires would be amply satisfied, and I should prefer your single approbation to all the laurels and all the triumphal cars in the universe. In my own judgment, indeed, and according to the refined estimate of true philosophy, the honours you paid me in the senate, and which have been transmitted to me by my friends, is undoubtedly the most significant distinction I can possibly receive. I acquainted you, in my former letter, with the particular motives which induced me to be desirous (for I will not call it ambitious) of a triumph; and if the reasons I there assigned will not, in your opinion, justify a warm pursuit of that honour, they must prove, at least, that I ought not to refuse it, if the senate should make me the offer; and I hope that assembly, in consideration of my

driven out of Syria before his arrival in the province, yet Cassius, by whose bravery they were repulsed, acted under the auspices of Bibulus; *sub ejus auspicia res gestæ erant*, as they expressed it. Now the success of the lieutenant, or other subordinate officer, was always imputed to the general, notwithstanding he were not actually present; as being supposed to arise from the effect of these *auspicia*, or sacred rites, which he previously performed ere he set out on his intended expedition.—*Ad Att.* vii. 1. 2. 3. *Rosin. Antiq. Rom.* 968.

services in this province, will not think me undeserving of a reward so usually conferred. If I should not be disappointed in this hope, my only request is, (what indeed you kindly promise,) that as you have paid me the honours you thought most to my glory, you would rejoice in my obtaining those which are most to my inclination. And this disposition you have already very sincerely shewn, not only by your letter, but by having signed the decree that has passed in my favour; for decrees of this kind, I know, are usually subscribed by those who are most in the interest of the person to whose honour they are voted. I will only add, that I hope to see you very shortly; and may I find the republic in a happier situation than I have reason to fear! Farewell.

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 703.]

TO CAIUS MARCELLUS, CONSUL.

I AM informed, by the letters of all my friends, what indeed I was sufficiently sensible of by the effects, that you have exerted the same generous zeal in promoting my honours,* now that you are

* This alludes to the good offices of Marcellus, in relation to the general thanksgiving which had lately been voted

consul, which you always discovered, in conjunction with your whole family, in every preceding station of your life. There is no good office, therefore, which you have not a full right to claim at my hands, as there is none which I shall not at all times be most warmly and joyfully ready to return. It is a point of much importance from whom one receives an obligation; but, believe me, there is not a man in the world I would rather choose to be obliged to than yourself. For, not to mention that I have been attached to you by a similitude of studies, and by the many generous services I have received both from yourself and your father; there is an additional inducement, which, in my estimation, is of all others the most engaging,---I mean the manner in which you act, and have ever acted, in the administration of public affairs. As nothing, then, is more dear to me than the commonwealth, can I scruple to be as much indebted to you in my own particular, as I am in common with every friend to the republic? And may your patriot labours be attended, as I trust they will, with all the success they deserve!

If the Etesian winds,* which usually begin to
for the success of Cicero's arms in Cilicia. See the 6th letter of this Book, p. 223.

* Periodical winds, which constantly blow the same way during a certain number of months every year.

blow about this season of the year, should not retard my voyage, I hope to see you very speedily. Farewell.

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 703.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

WHEN the question, concerning the military honours to be paid to your arms,* was formerly debated in the senate, I supported the cause of your glory with as much warmth and zeal, as if I had foreseen that I should one day have occasion for your good offices of the same kind to myself. Truth obliges me, however, to acknowledge, that you have returned much more than you received. All my letters, indeed, from Rome, agree in assuring me, that you not only supported my interest by the authority of your eloquence, and the credit of your vote, (which was as much as I could in reason desire from a man of your rank and character,) but that, by contributing your advice, by assisting at the meetings which were held upon my account, by your

* In Cilicia, probably ; in which province Appius, as the reader has been informed, was predecessor to Cicero. This letter is upon the same subject with the preceding.

personal applications, and, in short, by your assiduity in general, you rendered the good offices of the rest of my friends altogether superfluous. These are circumstances far more to my credit than the honour itself for which you thus generously laboured. The latter, indeed, has frequently been obtained by those who had done nothing to deserve it; but no man was ever supported with so much zeal by an advocate thus illustrious, without merit to justify his claim. But the great benefit that I propose to myself by your friendship, arises entirely from the advantages which naturally flow from an intercourse of this kind; as nothing, in truth, can be attended with greater, especially between two persons, who, like you and me, are united by the same common pursuits; for I profess to act with you upon the same political principles in which our sentiments are perfectly agreed, as well as to be joined with you in an equal attachment to the same arts and sciences which we mutually cultivate. I sincerely wish, that fortune had as strongly connected us in every other respect, and that you could think of all who belong to me* with the same friendly sentiments I entertain for those who stand related to you. But I do not despair, that even this

* This alludes to Dolabella, whose conduct to Appian has been so often mentioned in these remarks.

may be effected. It is a point, however, in which you are no way concerned, and which it is my part alone to manage. In the mean time, I beg you would be persuaded, as you will most certainly experience, that this alliance has, if possible, rather augmented than diminished the warmth of my zeal for your service.

But, as I hope I am now writing to a censor,* I must have the modesty to shorten my letter, that I may not be guilty of a breach of respect to a magistrate, who is the great superintendant of good manners. Farewell.

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 703.]

TO MARCUS CÆLIUS, CURULE-ÆDILE.

Nothing could be more judicious, nor more carefully conducted, than your management of Curio in relation to the thanksgiving.† Indeed, the circumstances of that whole affair, have proved entirely conformable to my wishes; not only as it passed the senate with so much expedition, but as our mu-

* See p. 194. note.

† See the sixth letter of the present Book, to which this is an answer.

tual competitor, the angry Hirrus, expressed his assent to those divine encomiums with which Cato honoured my actions. I am inclined to flatter myself, therefore, that this will lead to a triumph; and I desire you would be prepared accordingly.

It is with great pleasure I find that Dolabella enjoys the happiness of your esteem and friendship. I was at no loss to guess the circumstance to which you alluded, when you mentioned your hopes that the prudence of my daughter Tullia would temper his conduct. But what would you have said had you seen the letter I wrote* to Appius, immediately after I received yours upon that subject? Yet thus we must act, my friend, if we would live in the world.† I hope the gods will give success to this match, and that I shall have reason to be well satisfied with my son-in-law; I am sure, at least, your amicable offices will extremely contribute to that end.

The dark prospect of public affairs fills me with great disquietude. I am well-inclined towards Curio; it is my wish that Cæsar's achievements may meet with the honourable rewards they deserve; and I would willingly sacrifice my life in support

* The letter to which Cicero alludes is the first of the present Book.

† See p. 197. note.

of Pompey ; still, however, none of my affections are superior to that which I feel for my country. But, I perceive, you do not take any great part in her contests ; being divided, I suppose, between the different obligations of a patriot and a friend.

Upon my departure from the province, I left the administration in the hands of Calvus.* You will be surprized, perhaps, that I should commit so great a trust to so young a man. But you will remember that he was my quæstor ; that he is a youth of a noble family ; and that I am justified in my choice by a practice almost universal. Besides, I had no other person near me of superior rank ; for Pontinius had long before quitted the province, and as to my brother, I could by no means have prevailed upon him to accept the employment. Indeed, if I had placed the administration in his hands, the malicious part of the world would probably have said, that, instead of resigning my government in obedience to the decree of the senate, I still continued it in the person of one who may justly be considered as my second self. They might, perhaps, have added, too, that the intentions of the senate were, that those only should command in the provinces who had never enjoyed a government be-

* The person to whom the third letter of this Book is addressed.

fore *; whereas my brother had actually presided in Asia† during three whole years. The method I have taken, therefore, secures me from all censure; whereas, if I had substituted my brother, there is no abuse I should not have had reason to expect. In fine, I was induced, I will not say to court, but at least to avoid disoblighing a young man of Calvus's quality, not only by my own inclination, but by the example also of our two great potentates;‡ who, in the same manner, and for the same reason, distinguished their respective quæstors, Cassius and Antonius.§ Upon the whole, my friend, I expect that you approve of my choice; for it is now out of my power to recal it.

The hint you dropped concerning Ocella, was so extremely obscure,|| that I could make nothing of it, and I find no mention of it in your newspaper.

* The particular decree to which Cicero alludes, may be found among those which are inserted in the seventh letter of the fourth Book. It stands the last.

† He was elected governor of Asia Minor, in the year of Rome 692.

‡ Cæsar and Pompey.

§ Quintus Cassius, brother to the celebrated Caius Cassius, was quæstor to Pompey, in Spain; as Mark Antony served under Cæsar in the same quality, when he presided as proprætor in that province.

|| See the sixth letter of the fifth Book, p. 155.

You are become so wonderfully celebrated, that the fame of your conduct in relation to Matrinus, has travelled beyond Mount Taurus.

If I should not be delayed by the Etesian winds, I hope to embrace you and the rest of my friends very soon. Farewell.

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 703.]

MARCUS CÆLIUS TO CICERO.

I AM ashamed to own how much occasion I have to complain of Appius. This ungrateful man singled me out as the object of his secret spleen, for no other reason but because he has received greater obligations from me than his narrow spirit would suffer him to return. However, he could not carry on his malicious purposes with so much concealment, as to prevent my receiving an intimation of them; and, indeed, I had myself observed, that he certainly did not mean me well. Accordingly I found, that he had been tampering with his colleague* to my prejudice; as he soon afterwards openly avowed his injurious designs to some others

* Lucius Calphurnius Piso, the father-in-law of Cæsar, was colleague with Appius in the censorial office.

of his friends. I discovered, also, that he had entered into some consultations of the same kind with Lucius Domitius; who is lately, I must inform you, become my most bitter enemy. In short, I perceived, that he was endeavouring to recommend himself to Pompey, by his ill offices to me. Nevertheless, I could not submit to enter into any personal remonstrances, or intercessions, with a man whom I had reason to consider as indebted to me even for his life. I contented myself, therefore, with complaining to some of our common friends, who had been witnesses to the obligations he had received at my hands. But as this method, I found, was to no purpose, and that he would not deign to give me the least satisfaction, I determined to apply to his colleague. I rather chose, indeed, to ask a favour of the latter, (notwithstanding I was sensible that my connections with you* had rendered him far from being my friend,) than undergo the mortification of engaging in a personal confidence with so ridiculous and contemptible a mortal as Appius. This step extremely exasperated him, and he was no sooner apprised of it, than he warmly

* An enmity had subsisted between Piso and Cicero, ever since the consulate of the former, who concurred with Clodius in those violent measures which terminated in Cicero's exile. See Vol. I. pp. 40. 185. notes.

complained that I was seeking a pretence to quarrel with him, merely in resentment, he said, for his not having fully gratified my avaricious expectations. Soon after this, he openly endeavoured to procure Servius to exhibit articles of impeachment against me, and entered into several consultations with Domitius for that purpose. But, when they perceived that they could not succeed in their intended charge, they dropped this design, and resolved to encourage a prosecution of another kind; though, at the same time, they well knew that there was not the least shadow of evidence to support their accusation. However, towards the close of my Circensian games,* these shameless confederates caused me to be indicted on the Scantinian law.† But Pola, whom they had spirited up to be

* Circensian games is a general name for those shows of various kinds, which were exhibited at different seasons to the people in the Circus; a place in Rome set apart for those purposes. But the particular games alluded to in this passage, are most probably (as Manutius, with great reason, conjectures) those which they called the Roman. For these were exhibited by the ædiles in September; and this letter seems to have been written some time in that or the following month. The nature of these games has been explained in a former note.

† The author of this law was Marcus Scantinius, who was tribune of the people in the year of Rome 601. It prohibited that horrid and unnatural commerce, which, in af-

the informer, had scarce entered his action, when I lodged an information against our worthy censor* himself, for the very same crime. And nothing, in truth, could have been more happily concerted. For this retaliation was so universally applauded, and by the better sort too among the people, that the general satisfaction they have expressed, has mortified Appius even more than the disgrace of the information itself. I have charged him, likewise, with appropriating a little chapel to his private use, which belongs to the public.†

It is almost six weeks since I delivered my former letter to the slave, who now brings you both; and I am extremely vexed at the fellow's delay.— I think I have no farther news to send you, except

ter-ages of more confirmed and shameless corruption, became so general, as to be openly avowed even by those who affected, in other respects, a decency of character. Horace and Pliny the consul are both instances of this kind, and afford a very remarkable evidence, that the best dispositions are not proof against fashionable vices, how detestable soever, without a much stronger counterpoise than a mere moral sense can supply.

* Appius.

† Manutius, in his remark upon this place, produces a passage from Livy, by which he proves, that it was the business of the censors to take care that these public chapels should not be shut up by private persons from the general and common use to which they were originally erected.

that Domitius† is in great pain for the success of his approaching election.

As I earnestly wish to see you, I expect your arrival with much impatience. I will only add my request, that you would shew the world you are as sensible of the injuries done to me, as I have ever warmly resented those which have at any time been offered to yourself. Farewell.

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 703.]

FROM THE SAME.

If you had taken the king of Parthia himself prisoner, and sacked his metropolis, it would not make you amends for your absence from these diverting scenes. You have lost, indeed, a subject

Cœlius, therefore, informed against his adversary for having practised himself what it was incumbent upon him, by the duties of his office, to punish in others. *Vid. Manut. in loc.*

† This person, it is probable, is the same who is mentioned before in this letter. The commentators suppose that the election, of which Cœlius speaks, was for a member of the augural college, in the room of Hortensius, lately deceased. For it is said, in the next letter, that Mark Antony was his competitor; and it appears from Hirtius, that the former was chosen augur about this time. *Hirt. de bel. Galli. vii. 50.*

of inexhaustible mirth, by not being a spectator of the very ridiculous figure which the luckless Domitius displayed, when he lately found himself disappointed of his election.* The assembly of the people was exceedingly numerous upon this occasion; but the force of party bore down all before it,† and even carried away many of the friends of Domitius from his interest. This circumstance he imputes to my management; and as he considers the preference which has been thus given to his competitor, as a real injury done to himself, he honours me with the same marks of his displeasure, with which he distinguishes the most intimate of his friends. He is at present, indeed, a very diverting spectacle of indignant wrath, which he impotently discharges, in the first place, against myself, for promoting the election of Mark Antony, and, in the next, against the people, for expressing so much satisfaction in his repulse.

Under this article of news relating to Domitius,

* See the last note of the preceding letter.

† Mark Antony was supported by all the interest and credit of Cæsar; who exerted himself very strenuously upon this occasion, by going in person to the several municipal towns of Italy that lay nearest to his province of Gaul, in order to engage them in favour of his friend. For these cities, being admitted to the freedom of Rome, had a right of voting at elections. *Hirt. de bell. Gall.* viii. 50.

I must not forget to mention, that his son has commenced a prosecution against Saturninus; a man, it must be owned, whose conduct, in the former part of his life, has rendered him extremely odious. The public is waiting with great impatience for the event of this trial; but since the infamous Peducæus has been acquitted, there is a fair prospect that Saturninus will not meet with more inexorable judges.

As to political affairs, I have often mentioned to you, that I imagined the public tranquillity could not possibly be preserved beyond the present year; and the nearer we approach to those contentions which must inevitably arise, the more evident this danger appears. For Pompey is determined most strenuously to oppose Cæsar's being consul, unless he resigns his command; and Cæsar, on the contrary, is persuaded, that he cannot be safe upon those terms.* He has offered, however, to throw up his commission, provided Pompey will do the same. And thus their very suspicious friendship and alliance will probably end at last in an open

* Cæsar had acted in a very arbitrary and illegal manner during his first consulate; he apprehended, therefore, and with just reason, that if he should divest himself of his command, and return to Rome in a private character, his enemies would immediately arraign him for his mal-administration. *Dio.* p. 148.

war. For my own part, I shall be extremely perplexed in what manner to act in that conjuncture; and I doubt you will likewise find yourself under the same embarrassment. On the one hand, I have an interest and connexion with Pompey's party; and on the other, it is Cæsar's cause alone, and not his friends, that I dislike. You are sensible, I dare say, that so long as the dissensions of our country are confined within the limits of debate, we ought ever to join with the more righteous side; but that as soon as the sword is drawn, the strongest party is always the best.* With respect to our present divisions, I foresee that the senate, together with the whole order of judges,† will declare in favour

* It were to be wished, that every man who embraces this maxim, were as little scrupulous of acknowledging it, as the author of this letter; for of all noxious creatures, a knave without a mask is by far the least dangerous.

† The expression in the original is, *quique res judicant*; which Dr Middleton has translated, *and all who judge of things*. But this explanation is contrary to the concurrent sentiments of the best commentators, who agree, that *qui res judicant* is a circumlocution for *judices*. The phrase, it must be owned, is singular; and so is the style of Cælius in general. But what principally confirms the sense here adopted is, that it is most agreeable both to credibility and to fact. For it is by no means probable, that every man of judgment was an enemy to Cæsar; and it is most certain, that the whole order of judges were friends to Pompey. *Vid. Ad Att. viii. 16. Life of Cic. ii. 212. 8vo. ed.*

of Pompey ; and that all those of desperate fortunes, or who are obnoxious to the laws, will list themselves under the banners of Cæsar. As to their armies, I am persuaded there will be a great inequality. But I hope we shall have time enough to consider the strength of their respective forces, and to declare ourselves accordingly.

I had almost forgotten to mention a piece of news, much too remarkable to be omitted. You must know that our worthy censor Appius is become the very prodigy of reformers, and is most outrageously active in restraining our extravagancies in pictures and statues, in limiting the number of our acres, and abolishing usurious contracts.* The man imagines, I suppose, that the

* It is probable that Appius had himself as remarkably transgressed the rules of moderation in this last article, as he undoubtedly had in the other two ; for avarice is an attendant that seldom fails of accompanying luxury. It is certain, at least, that his own possessions were far above mediocrity ; for Cicero frequently speaks of him in the preceding letters as a man who, by his wealth, as well as by his alliances and abilities, was of great weight in the republic. And as to his extravagance of the virtuoso kind, it appears that when he intended to offer himself as a candidate for the office of ædile, he plundered all the temples of Greece, as well as other less sacred repositories, in order to make a collection of pictures and statues for the decoration of the games which were annually exhibited by those magistrates.

ensorship is a kind of specific for discharging the stains of a blemished reputation.* But I have a notion he will find himself mistaken; for the more pains he takes of this sort to clear his character, the more visibly the spots will appear. In the name of all the gods, my dear Cicero, hasten hither to enjoy the diverting spectacle of Appius sitting in judgment on extravagance, and Drusus† on debauchery! It is a sight, believe me, well worth your expedition.

Curio is thought to have acted very prudently, in withdrawing his protest against the decree for the payment of Pompey's troops. But to answer your question in few words concerning my sentiments of public affairs, if one or other of our chiefs should not be employed against the Parthians, I am persuaded great dissensions will soon ensue; dissensions, my friend, which nothing can termi-

Ep. Fam. iii. 10. Pro Domo 43. Vid. et Pigh. Annal. anno 696.

* The batteries of ridicule are never more properly pointed, than when they are thus levelled at counterfeit virtue; as there is nothing that more justly raises contempt and indignation than those reforming hypocrites :

Qui Curios simulant, et Bacchanalia vivunt. JUVEN.

† It is supposed, from what Cœlius here says of him, that he was one of the prætors this year. *Pigh. Annal. 703.*

nate but the sword, and which each of them seem well-inclined and prepared to draw. In short, if your own safety were not deeply concerned, I should say that Fortune is going to open to you a most entertaining scene.* Farewell.

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 703.]

TO TERENTIA AND TULLIA.

THE amiable young Cicero and myself are perfectly well, if you and my dearest Tullia are so. We arrived here† on the 14th of this month, after a very tedious and disagreeable passage, occasioned by contrary winds. Acastus‡ met me upon my landing, with letters from Rome; having been so expeditious as to perform his journey in one-and-twenty days. In the packet which he delivered to me, I found yours, wherein you express some un-

* The meaning of this seems to be, (as one of the commentators has explained it,) that if Cicero himself were not in danger from the dissention between Cæsar and Pompey, it must afford him great diversion to see these two chiefs, who had both of them used him ill, revenging his quarrel upon each other.

† Athens.

‡ A freedman belonging to Cicero.

easiness lest your former letters should not have reached my hands. They have, my Terentia; and I am extremely obliged to you for the very full accounts you gave me of every thing I was concerned to know.

I am by no means surprized at the shortness of your last, as you had reason to expect us so soon. It is with great impatience I wish for that meeting; though I am sensible, at the same time, of the unhappy situation in which I shall find the republic. All the letters, indeed, which I received by Acastus, agree in assuring me, that there is a general tendency to a civil war; so that when I come to Rome I shall be under a necessity of declaring myself on one side or the other. However, since there is no avoiding the scene which fortune has prepared for me, I shall be the more expeditious in my journey, that I may the better deliberate on the several circumstances which must determine my choice. Let me entreat you to meet me as far on my way as your health will permit.

The legacy which Precius has left me, is an acquisition that I receive with great concern; as I tenderly loved him, and extremely lament his death. If his estate should be put up to auction before my arrival, I beg you would recommend my interest in it to the care of Atticus; or in case his affairs should not allow him to undertake the office, that

you would request the same favour of Camillus. And if this should not find you at Rome, I desire you would send proper directions thither for that purpose. As for my other affairs, I hope I shall be able to settle them myself; for I purpose to be in Italy, if the gods favour my voyage, about the 13th of November. In the mean time, I conjure you, my amiable and excellent Terentia, and thou, my dearest Tullia, I conjure you both, by all the tender regards you bear me, to take care of your healths. Farewell.

Athens, October the 18th.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 703.]

TO TIRO.*

I DID not imagine I should have been so little able to support your absence; but indeed it is more

* He was a favourite slave of Cicero, who trained him up in his family, and formed him under his own immediate tuition. The probity of his manners, the elegance of his genius, and his uncommon erudition, recommended him to his master's peculiar esteem and affection; of which the letters addressed to him in this collection, are a lasting and remarkable memorial. They are many of them written, indeed, in a style so different from the ordinary language of

than I can well bear. Accordingly, notwithstanding it is of the last importance to my interest* that I should hasten to Rome, yet I cannot but severely reproach myself for having thus deserted you. However, as you seemed altogether averse from pursuing your voyage till you should re-establish your

friendship, that they probably gave strength and currency to a suspicion highly disadvantageous to Cicero's moral character. This imputation seems to have been first propagated by the son of the celebrated Asinius Pollio; who, in a treatise which he published in order to magnify his father's eloquence at the expence of Cicero's, inserted a wanton sonnet, which he pretended was composed by the latter on Tiro. But to speak impartially, there does not seem, from all that can be traced of Cicero's private conduct, the least sufficient evidence to charge him with having been infected with this execrable vice of his degenerate countrymen. In passing judgment, therefore, on these letters to Tiro, it should be remembered, that Cicero's temper was more than commonly warm; which infused a peculiar heat into all his expressions, whether of friendship or of enmity. This, together with those notions of amity which were carried by the ancients, in general, so much higher than they have risen in modern ages, may account, perhaps, for those overflowings of tenderness which are so very observable in the letters to Tiro. *Aul. Gel.* xiii. 9. *Plin. Epist.* vii. 4.

* As Cicero was full of the hopes of obtaining a triumph, he was desirous of hastening to Rome before the dissensions between Cæsar and Pompey should be raised to so great a height as to render it impossible for him to enjoy that honour.

health, I approved of your scheme ; and I still approve of it, if you continue in the same sentiments. Nevertheless, if after having taken some refreshment, you should think yourself in a condition to follow me, you may do so, or not, as you shall judge proper. If you should determine in the affirmative, I have sent Mario to attend you ; if not, I have ordered him to return immediately. Be well assured, there is nothing I more ardently desire than to have you with me, provided I may enjoy that pleasure without prejudice to yourself. But be assured too, that if your continuing somewhat longer at Patræ * should be thought necessary, I prefer your health to all other considerations. If you should embark immediately, you may overtake me at Leucas.† But if you are more inclined to defer your voyage till your recovery shall be better confirmed, let me entreat you to be very care-

* A city in Peloponnesus, which still subsists under the name of Patras. Cicero had left Tiro indisposed in this place, the day before the date of the present letter. .

† A little Grecian island in the Ionian sea, now called Saint Maure. It was on this island that the celebrated promontory stood, from whence the tender Sappho is said to have thrown herself in a fit of amorous despair ; and which the inimitable Addison has rendered still more celebrated by his ingenious papers on the *Lover's Leap*. See *Spect.* Vol. III. No. 223, 233.

ful in choosing a safe ship; and that you would neither sail at an improper season, nor without a convoy. I particularly charge you, also, my dear Tiro, by all the regard you bear me, not to suffer the arrival of Mario, or any thing that I have said in this letter, in the least to influence your resolution. Believe me, whatever will be most agreeable to your health, will be most agreeable, likewise, to my inclinations; and, therefore, I desire you would be wholly governed by your own prudence. It is true, I am extremely desirous of your company, and of enjoying it as early as possible; but the same affection which makes me wish to see you soon, makes me wish to see you well. Let your health, therefore, be your first and principal care; assuring yourself, that among all the numberless good offices I have received at your hands, I shall esteem this by far the most acceptable.

November the 3d.

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 703.]

TO THE SAME.

I CANNOT describe to you (nor would I, indeed, if it were in my power) the uneasy situation of my mind. I will only say, that your speedy recovery

and return to me, will afford infinite satisfaction to both of us.

The third day after we parted brought me to this place.* It lies within a hundred and twenty stadia† of Leucas; where I promise myself that we shall meet; or at least, that I shall find Mario there with a letter from you. In the mean while, let me entreat you to be careful of your health, in proportion to the mutual tenderness we bear towards each other. Farewell.

Alyzia, Nov. the 5th.

LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 703.]

TO THE SAME.

I DISPATCHED a letter to you yesterday from this place, where I continued all that day in order to wait the arrival of my brother; and I write this before sun-rise, just as we are setting out. If you have any regard for us, but particularly for me, shew it by your care to re-establish your health. It is with great impatience I expect to meet you at Leucas; but if that cannot be, my next wish is,

* Alyzia, a city of Acarnia in Greece.

† About 15 miles.

that I may find Mario there with a letter. We all of us, indeed, but more especially myself, earnestly long to see you; however, we would by no means, my Tiro, indulge ourselves in that pleasure, unless it may be consistent with your health. There is no necessity, therefore, of hastening your journey, as there will be days enough to enjoy your company when once you shall be thoroughly recovered. I can easily, indeed, forego your services; but your health, my dear Tiro, I would fain preserve, for your own sake in the first place, and, in the next, for mine. Farewell.

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 703.]

TO THE SAME.

YOUR letter produced very different effects on my mind; as the latter part somewhat alleviated the concern which the former had occasioned. I am now convinced that it will not be safe for you to proceed on your voyage, till your health shall be entirely re-established; and I shall see you soon enough, if I see you perfectly recovered.

I find by your letter, that you have a good opinion of your physician; and I am told he deserves it. However, I can by no means approve of the

regimen he prescribed; for soups cannot certainly be suitable to so weak a stomach. I have written to him very fully concerning you; as also to Lyso. I have done the same likewise to my very obliging friend Curius; and have particularly requested him, if it should be agreeable to yourself, that he would remove you into his house. I am apprehensive, indeed, that Lyso will not give you proper attendance; in the first place, because carelessness is the general characteristic of all his countrymen;* and, in the next, because he has returned no answer to my letter. Nevertheless, as you mention him with esteem, I leave it to you to continue with him, or not, just as you shall think proper. Let me only enjoin you, my dear Tiro, not to spare any expence that may be necessary towards your recovery. To this end, I have desired Curius to supply you with whatever money you shall require; and I think it would be proper, in order to render your physician the more careful in his attendance, to make him some present.

Numberless are the services I have received from you, both at home and abroad; in my public and my private transactions; in the course of my studies, and the concerns of my family. But would you crown them all? Let it be by your care that I may

* The Grecians.

see you (as I hope I soon shall) perfectly recovered. If your health should permit, I think you cannot do better than to take the opportunity of embarking with my quæstor Mescinius ; for he is a good-natured man, and seems to have conceived a friendship for you. The care of your voyage, indeed, is the next thing I would recommend to you, after that of your health. However, I would now by no means have you hurry yourself ; as my single concern is for your recovery. Be assured, my dear Tiro, that all my friends are yours ; and consequently, as your health is of the greatest importance to me as well as to yourself, there are numbers who are solicitous for its preservation. Your assiduous attendance upon me has hitherto prevented you from paying due regard to it. But now that you are wholly at leisure, I conjure you to devote all your application to that single object ; and I shall judge of the affection you bear me, by your compliance with this request. Adieu, my dear Tiro, adieu ! adieu ! may you soon be restored to the perfect enjoyment of your health.

Lepta, together with all your other friends, salute you. Farewell.

Leucas, Nov. the 7th.

LETTER XXI.

[A. U. 703.]

TO THE SAME.

THOUGH it was but an hour or two that you and I spent with Xenomenes at Thyreum, * yet he has conceived as strong an affection for you, as if he had conversed with you his whole life; so wonderfully engaging is my Tiro! Accordingly, he has promised to assist you in all your occasions; and it is a promise, I am well persuaded, he will punctually perform.

I should be glad, if you find yourself better, that you would remove to Leucas, in order to perfect your recovery. Nevertheless, I would not have you change your present situation, without taking the sentiments of Curius and Lyso, together with those of your physician.

I had some thoughts of sending Mario back to you; whom you might return to me with a letter as soon as your health should be somewhat mended. But I considered, that this would be only securing the pleasure of hearing from you once; whereas I hope to receive that satisfaction frequent-

* A city of Peloponnesus.

ly. And if you have any regard for me, you may easily give it me, by sending Acastus every day to the quay; where he cannot fail of meeting with many, who will readily charge themselves with conveying a letter to me. You may be assured, in return, that I shall not suffer any opportunity to escape me, of sending a line or two by those who are going to Patræ.

I rely entirely upon the care of Curius for your recovery; as nothing, I am sure, can exceed either his friendship to myself, or his humanity in general. I desire, therefore, you would be wholly resigned to his direction. As I am willing to sacrifice the pleasure of your company to the advantage of your health, I entreat you to have no other concern but what relates to your recovery; all the rest, be assured, shall be mine. Again and again I bid you farewell. I am this moment leaving Leucas.

Nov. the 7th.

LETTER XXII.

[A. U. 703.]

TO THE SAME.

THIS is the third letter I have written to you within these four-and-twenty hours; and I now take up my pen, more in compliance with my usual

custom, than as having any thing new to say. I can only repeat, indeed, what I have often requested, that you would proportion the care of your health to the affection you bear me. Yes, my Tiro, I conjure you to add this to the numberless good offices you have conferred upon me, as the most acceptable of them all. When you have taken, as I hope you will, all necessary measures for that purpose, my next desire is, that you would use the proper precautions likewise to secure to yourself a safe voyage. In the mean time, you will not fail to write to me as often as you shall meet with any person who is coming into Italy, as I shall take all occasions of doing the same on my part, by those who may be going to Patras. In one word; take care of yourself, my dear Tiro, I charge you; and since we have been thus prevented from pursuing our voyage together, there is no necessity for resuming your's in haste. Let it be your single care to re-establish your health. Again and again, farewell.

Actium,* Nov. the 7th, in the evening.

* A city in Epirus.

LETTER XXIII.

[A. U. 703.]

TO THE SAME.

I HAVE been detained here * this whole week by contrary winds, which have likewise confined my brother and his son at Buthrotum. † I am full of anxiety about your health, though by no means surprised at not hearing from you, as the same winds which delay my voyage, prevent the arrival of your letters.

Let me entreat you to exert your utmost care in regaining your health; and I hope, as soon as the season of the year, and your recovery, shall render it convenient for you to embark, you will return to him who infinitely loves you. Your arrival will be impatiently expected by numberless others, as well as by myself; for all who bear any affection for me, are tender well-wishers to you. Again, and again, my dear Tiro, I conjure you to take care of your health. Farewell.

Corcyra, Nov. the 16th.

* In Corcyra.

† A city in Epirus.

LETTER XXIV.

[A. U. 703.]

TO THE SAME.

WE parted, you know, on the 2d of November; on the 6th I arrived at Leucas, from whence I reached Actium the following day. I was detained there by contrary winds till the next morning, when I sailed for Corcyra, where I arrived on the 9th, after having had a very favourable passage. The weather proving extremely tempestuous, I was obliged to continue in that place till the 16th, when I again proceeded on my voyage; and on the 17th I entered the bay of Cassiope, a maritime town in Corcyra, situated about an hundred and twenty stadia from my former port. Here the wind shifting, I was detained till the 23d. In the mean time, those ships that had accompanied me thither, and were so impatient as immediately to put to sea again, were many of them lost. However, on the evening of the day I last mentioned, we weighed anchor; and having sailed all that night and the next day with a fair gale from the south, and a very clear sky, we gained, with great ease, the port of Hydruns, in Italy. The same wind carried us the following day, being the 25th, to Brundi-

sium. I was met at this place by Terentia, (who desires me to assure you of her esteem,) and we entered the town together. On the 27th, a slave of Plancius arrived here with your very acceptable letter, dated the 13th of this month; which, though it did not entirely answer my wishes, contributed greatly to alleviate the uneasiness I was under upon your account. I had the satisfaction, likewise, of hearing, at the same time, from your physician, who confirms me in the hope that you will soon be well.

And now, as I perfectly well know your prudence, your temperance, and the affection you bear me, can it be necessary that I should entreat you to employ your utmost care to re-establish your health? I am persuaded, indeed, you will do every thing in your power to return to me as soon as possible; however, I would by no means have you more expeditious than your strength will bear. I am sorry you accepted Lyso's invitation to his concert, lest your going abroad so soon should occasion a relapse on the fourth critical week. * But, since

* The ancients entertained a variety of superstitious notions concerning the mystical power of numbers, particularly the number seven, with its several multiplications and divisions. Cicero, in one of his philosophical treatises, calls this number *rerum omnium fere nodus*; and it is to its parti-

you were willing to hazard your health rather than appear deficient in point of politeness, I hope you will guard against any ill consequence that may attend your complaisance.

I have written to Curius, to request he would make a proper acknowledgment to your physician, and supply you likewise with whatever money your occasions shall require; which I will repay to his order. You will find an horse and a mule at Brundisium, which I have left there for your service. I am proceeding on my journey to Rome, where I expect to see great commotions upon the entrance of the new consuls into their office.* However, it is my resolution not to engage in the violent measures of either party.

cular influence, with regard to the crisis of distempers, that he alludes in the present passage. Macrobius has retailed abundance of absurd learning in relation to this wonder-working number, which he concludes with the following reflections: *Unde non immerito hic numerus totius fabricæ dispensator et dominus, ægris quoque corporibus periculum sanitatemve denuntiat.* This opinion, however, is not altogether inconsistent with a more improved philosophy; and experience shews, that the 7th, the 14th, &c. days, are frequently attended with certain determining symptoms in the progress of acute diseases.—*Macrob. in Somn. Scip. i. 6.*

* The consuls entered upon their office on the 1st day of the new year.

I have only to add my most earnest request, that you would not embark without taking all prudent precautions to secure a safe voyage. The masters of ships, I know, who are governed entirely by their hopes of gain, are always in haste to sail. But I entreat you, my dear Tiro, not to be too hazardous; and remember, that you have a wide and dangerous sea to traverse. I should be glad you would, if possible, take your passage with Mescinius, who is never disposed to run any imprudent risks in expeditions of this kind. But if your health should not permit you to embark so soon, let me desire you would look out for some other companion in your voyage, whose public character may give him an authority with the commander of your ship. In a word, you cannot more effectually oblige me, than by exerting your utmost care to return to me safe and well. Again and again, my dear Tiro, I bid you adieu.

I have recommended you, in the strongest terms, to the care both of Curius and Lyso, as well as of your physician. Adieu.

LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK SEVENTH.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 704.]

TO TIRO.

NOTWITHSTANDING that I feel the want of your services in every place, and upon all occasions, yet be assured, your illness gives me far less concern on my own account than on yours. However, since it has terminated, as Curius informs me, in a quartan ague, I hope, if you are not wanting in proper care, that it will prove a means of more firmly establish-

ing your* health. Be so just, then, to the regard you owe me, as not to suffer any other concern to employ your thoughts but what relates to your recovery. I am sensible, at the same time, how much you suffer from this absence; but believe me, all will be well whenever you are-so. I would by no means, therefore, have you in so much haste to return to me, as to expose yourself to the dangers of a winter voyage; nor indeed to the fatigue of a sea-sickness, before you shall have sufficiently recovered your strength.

I arrived in the suburbs† of Rome on the 4th of January, and nothing could be more to my honour than the manner in which I was met on my approach to the city. But I am unhappily fallen into the very midst of public dissention; or rather;

* A quartan ague was supposed, by the ancients, to be extremely salutary in its consequences. Aulus Gellius mentions a contemporary orator and philosopher, who wrote a serious panegyric upon this wholesome distemper; wherein he supported his opinion upon the authority of a passage in some writings of Plato, which are now lost.—*Noct. Att.* xvii. 12.

† As Cicero claimed the honour of a triumph, he was obliged, till his pretensions should be determined, to take up his residence without the walls of the city, agreeably to a custom which has been frequently mentioned in the preceding observations.

indeed, I find myself surrounded with the flames of a civil war. It was my earnest desire to have composed these dangerous ferments; and I probably might, if the passions of some, in both parties, who are equally eager for war, had not rendered my endeavours ineffectual. My friend Cæsar has written a very warm and menacing letter to the senate.* He has the assurance, notwithstanding their express prohibition, to continue at the head of his army, and in the government of his province; to which very extraordinary measures he has been instigated by Curio. The latter, in conjunction with Quintus Cassius and Mark Antony, without the least violence having been offered to them,†

* The purport of Cæsar's letter was, that he declared himself willing to resign his command, provided Pompey did the same; but if this were not complied with, that he would immediately march into Italy, and revenge the injuries done both to himself and to the liberties of the republic.—*Appian. Bel. Civ. ii.*

† The letter mentioned in the last note was received by the senate with great indignation, and considered as an open declaration of war. Accordingly they voted, that if Cæsar did not resign his command by a certain day, named in their decree for that purpose, he should be deemed an enemy to his country. This decree was protested against by Curio, Quintus Cassius Longinus, and Mark Antony, in virtue of their prerogative as tribunes of the people; and while the senate were deliberating in what manner to punish the au-

have withdrawn themselves to Cæsar. They took this step immediately after the senate had given it in charge to the consuls,* the prætors, and the tribunes of the people, together with those of us who are invested with proconsular power, to take care of the interests of the republic.† And never, in truth, were our liberties in more imminent danger; as those who are disaffected to the commonwealth never were headed by a chief more capable, or better prepared to support them. We are raising forces with all possible diligence, under the authority, and with the assistance, of Pompey, who now begins, somewhat too late, I fear, to be apprehensive of Cæsar's power. In the midst, however, of these

thors of this protest, they were advised, by the consul Lentulus, to withdraw, before any decree against them had actually passed. Perhaps this is all that Cicero means, when he asserts, that "no violence had been offered to these tribunes;" for otherwise his assertion would be contradicted by the unanimous testimony of all the ancient historians. *Appian. Bel. Civil. ii. Cæsar. Bel. Civil. i. 5. Dio. xli. p. 153.*

* The consuls of this year were Clodius Marcellus and Cornelius Lentulus Crus.

† By this decree, the magistrates therein named were invested with a discretionary power of acting as they should judge proper in the present exigency of public affairs; a decree to which the senate never had recourse but in cases of the utmost danger and distress.—*Cæs. Bel. Civil. i. 5.*

· alarming commotions, the senate demanded, in a very full house, that a triumph should be immediately decreed to me. But the consul Lentulus, in order to appropriate to himself a greater share in conferring this honour, told them, that he would propose it himself in proper form, as soon as he should have dispatched the affairs that were necessary in the present conjuncture. In the mean time, I act with great moderation; and this conduct renders my influence with both parties so much the stronger. The several districts of Italy are assigned to our respective protections; and Capua is the department I have taken for mine.

I thought it proper to give you this general information of public affairs; to which I will only add my request, that you would take care of your health, and write to me by every opportunity.--- Again and again, I bid you farewell.

Jan. the 12th.

LETTER II.

[A. U. 704.]

TO RUFUS.*

I SHOULD have used my utmost endeavours to have given you a meeting, if you had continued in your resolution of going to the place you first appointed; and though you were willing to spare me that trouble, yet be assured, I should, upon the least notice, have shewn you, that I prefer your convenience to my own.

If my secretary, Marcus Tullius, were not absent, I should be able to send you a more explicit answer to your letter. This, however, I will assure you, that, with regard to exhibiting the accounts†

* Lucius Mescinius Rufus, the person to whom this letter is addressed, was quæstor to Cicero in Cilicia. His conduct in that office seems to have given occasion to the character we find of him in the letters to Atticus, where he is represented as a man of great levity, and of a most debauched and avaricious turn of mind.—*Ad Att.* iv. 3.

† These were Cicero's accounts relating to the public expences of his government in Cilicia; in which there seems to have been articles inserted not altogether favourable to the reputation of Rufus as quæstor, and which he was desirous, therefore, should have been altered or suppressed before they had been delivered into the treasury at Rome.

you mention, (for I will not venture to be so positive as to any other instance,) he has not intentionally taken any step injurious either to your interest or your reputation. As to my own share in this transaction, had the law, formerly observed in matters of this kind, been still in force, I should not, most certainly, have laid my accounts before the treasury, without having, agreeably to those connections that subsist between us, * previously examined and adjusted them with you. But the ancient usage in these cases being now superseded by the Julian law, † which obliged me to leave a stated account in the province, and exhibit an exact copy of it to the treasury, I paid you that compliment in Cilicia, which I should otherwise have paid you at Rome. Nor did I at that time, by any means, endeavour to controul your accounts by mine; on the contrary, I made concessions to you, of which, I dare say, you will never give me reason to repent. The fact is, I resigned my secretary (whose conduct you now, it seems, suspect) entirely to your directions; and it was Tullius, together with your brother, (who you desired might be joined with him,) that settled these accounts with you in my absence. I concerned myself, in-

* As proconsul and quæstor.

† See p. 231.

deed, no farther, than just to cast my eye over them; and I considered the copy, which I thus received from my secretary, as coming immediately from your brother's own hand. In this whole transaction, I have treated you with all possible respect and confidence; and it was not in my power to have employed a person to make up these accounts, who would have been more cautious than my secretary, that nothing should appear to your disadvantage. That I have paid a necessary obedience to the Julian law, by depositing a copy of my stated accounts in the two principal cities of the province, is most certain. But though I had many reasons for being desirous of passing them as expeditiously as possible, yet I should have waited your return to Rome, had I not considered their being thus deposited in the province as just the same thing, with respect to you, as if they had been actually carried into the treasury at Rome.

As to the article you mention relating to Volusius, it could by no means be inserted in the account. For I am informed, by those who are conversant in business of this kind, particularly by my most judicious friend Camillus, that Volusius cannot stand charged with the sum in question, instead of Valerius;* but that the sureties of the lat-

* The nature of this affair concerning Valerius and Vo-

ter are necessarily liable to the payment of this debt. It amounts, however, to no more than nineteen thousand sesterces, * and not to thirty thousand, † as you state it in your letter; for I had recovered part of it from Valerius, and it is only the remainder that I have charged. But you are unwilling, it should seem, to allow me the credit of having acted upon this occasion, either with generosity in regard to my friends, or (what indeed I less value myself upon) even with common caution with respect to myself. Why else should you suppose, that my lieutenant and præfect owe it to my secretary, rather than to myself, that they are eased of a very severe, and, in truth, a very unconscionable burden? and why else should you imagine me so negligent in a point wherein both my duty and interest were equally and greatly concerned, as to suffer my secretary to settle this account just

lusius is utterly inexplicable, as it refers to a transaction of which we know neither the full circumstances nor the particular laws to which it relates. Vain, therefore, would be the task of retailing the several opinions of the commentators upon this and the following passages, or the attempt to clear them up by any additional conjectures; as it is better to remain quietly in the dark, than to blunder about in quest of a light which is no where to be found.

* About 152l. sterling.

† About 240l. sterling.

as he thought proper, without requiring him even to read it over to me? In short, though I flatter myself, that I have taken no imprudent measures in this business, yet you will not believe, it seems, that I have bestowed upon it even a single thought. The truth, however, is, that the scheme of throwing off this debt from Volusius was entirely my own; as I am endeavouring, likewise, to discharge the sureties of Valerius, and even Marius himself, from so severe a penalty. And I have the satisfaction to find this my design not only generally approved, but applauded; though, to tell you the whole truth, it is not, I perceive, greatly relished by my secretary. Nevertheless, I thought it the duty of an honest man, to spare the fortunes of such numbers of his friends and fellow-citizens, when he could do so without prejudicing the public interest.

In regard to what you mention concerning Lucceius, I have acknowledged, that the money was deposited in the temple by my orders, in pursuance of Pompey's advice. The latter has received this sum for the public use;* as Sestius possessed himself of that which you had deposited in the same place. I am very sensible, that this is an affair in which you are in no sort concerned. However, I

* For the purposes, perhaps, of the war which he was now preparing to carry on against Cæsar.

should be extremely sorry that I omitted to particularise this circumstance, if it did not most authentically appear, by the decree of the senate, and by the letters which passed between us, for whose use it was delivered into the hands of Sestius. It was the notoriety of this fact, and the certainty that it was of no importance to you, which prevented me from making particular mention of it. But since you wish that I had, I wish so too. I agree with you in thinking, that it is proper you should insert this article into your accounts; nor will they, by that mean, appear in the least inconsistent with mine; as you will only add what I omitted, and vouch my express orders. I have no reason, most certainly, to deny them; nor should I indeed, if I had, when you desired the contrary.

As to the nine hundred thousand sesterces,* they are specified in the manner that you, or your brother at least, required. And if there is any item, in respect to my lieutenant, which you are dissatisfied with, and which (after having renounced the privilege I was entitled to by the decree of the senate)†

* About 7263l. of our money.

† It seems probable, from this passage, that there was some decree of the senate, which indulged the proconsuls with a longer time for bringing in their accounts than they were entitled to by the law; which privilege Cicero thought proper to wave.—*Manutius*.

it is in my power to rectify, I will endeavour to do so as far as I legally may.* In the mean time, be well assured, I shall take no step in this affair, if I can possibly avoid it, that may prove inconsistent either with your interest or your inclination.

In answer to your inquiry concerning my honorary list,† I must acquaint you, that I have only delivered in the names of my præfects and military tribunes, together with those who attended me as

* There is a passage in the original between this and the next sentence, which is omitted in the translation. It runs thus : *Tu certe pecunia exacta ita efferre ex meis rationibus relatis non oportuit, nisi quid me fallit : sunt enim alii peritiores.* The principal difficulty of this period lies in the words *exacta* and *efferre*; which the commentators have endeavoured to remove by various readings and conjectures. But as neither their readings nor conjectures offer any thing satisfactory, I leave it to the explanation of some more successful interpreter; applauding, in the mean time, the modesty of Grævius, who closes his remark upon this place with the following ingenuous acknowledgment, so unusual in a critic by profession : *Nihil in re tam obscura, definio*, says he, *nec mihi ipse satisfacio.*

† The proconsuls, upon their return to Rome, after the expiration of their provincial ministry, used to present a list of such of their officers and attendants who had particularly distinguished themselves by their zeal and fidelity in their respective functions.—*Manutius.*

proconsular companions.* I had conceived a notion, that no certain time was limited for this purpose; but I have since been informed, that it is necessary to present this list within thirty days after exhibiting the accounts. I am sorry you had not the benefit of paying this compliment; as I have no ambitious views to serve by taking it upon myself. But it is still open to you, with respect to the centurions and the companions of the military tribunes; the law not having fixed any time for presenting a list of that sort.

I have nothing farther, I think, to observe upon your letter, except in relation to the hundred thousand sesterces.† I remember you wrote to me upon this subject before, in a letter dated from Myrina,‡ and acknowledged it to be an error of your own; though, if there be any error in the case, it seems rather chargeable on your brother and my secretary. But be that as it will, the mistake was discovered too late to be corrected; for I had then quitted the province, and deposited my accounts. I

* These were generally young noblemen, who attended the proconsul into his government as a sort of volunteers, in order to gain experience, and acquaint themselves with business.—*Manutius*.

† About 800l.

‡ A maritime city in Æolia, a province of Asia.

believe, therefore, that the answer I returned was agreeable to the disposition in which I always stand towards you, and to those hopes I had then conceived of my finances. I do not, however, remember, that I carried my complaisance so far as to make myself your debtor for that sum; any more than I imagine that you intended this part of your letter as one of those importunate memorials, so frequent in these times of general distress. You will consider, that I left, in the hands of the farmers of the revenues at Ephesus, all the money which legally accrued to me from my government; and that this whole sum, amounting to no less than two millions two hundred thousand sesterces,* was seized for the use of Pompey. Whatever effect this great loss may have upon me, I am sure you ought not to be discomposed at yours; and you should only look upon it as a dish the less at your table, or an inconsider-

* One may judge from hence what immense wealth those rapacious governors of the Roman provinces acquired, who did not scruple to oppress the people committed to their charge, by every method of extortion that avarice could suggest. For Cicero, who professed to conduct himself with the most exemplary disinterestedness in his province, was yet able, it appears, to acquire so large a sum in a single year as about 17,600*l.* of our money; and that too from a province by no means the most considerable of the republic's dominions.

able diminution of what you might otherwise have expected from my liberality. But had you actually advanced these hundred thousand sesterces to me out of your own purse, yet, to be sure, you are too complaisant to insist upon a security; and as to paying them, were I ever so well disposed for that purpose, you must know it is not in my power.--- You see I answer you in the same spirit of pleasantry, in which I suppose that part of your letter was written to which this refers. But to be serious; if you think that Tullius can be of any service to you in this affair, I will send him as soon as he returns from the country. I have no objection to your destroying this letter when you shall have read it.--- Farewell.

LETTER III.

[A. U. 704.]

TO TERENTIA AND TO TULLIA.

IN what manner it may be proper to dispose of yourselves during the present conjuncture, is a question which must now be decided by your own judgments as much as by mine. Should Cæsar advance to Rome, without committing hostilities, you may certainly, for the present at least, remain there unmolested; but if this madman should give up the

city to the rapine of his soldiers, I much doubt whether even Dolabella's credit and authority will be sufficient to protect you. I am under some apprehension, likewise, lest, while you are deliberating in what manner to act, you should find yourselves so surrounded with the army as to render it impossible to withdraw, though you should be ever so much inclined. The next question is, (and it is a question which you yourselves are best able to determine,) whether any ladies of your rank venture to continue in the city; if not, will it be consistent with your character to appear singular in that point? But be that as it will, you cannot, I think, as affairs are now situated, be more commodiously placed, than either with me, or at some of our farms in this district; supposing, I mean, that I should be able to maintain my present post. I must add, likewise, that a short time, it is to be feared, will produce a great scarcity in Rome. However, I should be glad you would take the sentiments of Atticus, or Camillus, or any other friend whom you may choose to consult upon this subject. In the mean while let me conjure you both to keep up your spirits. The coming over of Labienus* to our party, has

* Labienus was one of Cæsar's principal and most favourite lieutenants in Gaul; where he greatly distinguished himself by his military conduct. The Pompeian party,

given affairs a much better aspect. And Piso having withdrawn himself from the city, is likewise another very favourable circumstance; as it is a plain indication, that he disapproves the impious measures of his son-in-law.*

I entreat you, my dearest creatures, to write to me as frequently as possible, and let me know how it is with you, as well as what is going forward in

therefore, were very assiduous in their applications to gain him over to their cause; as they promised themselves great advantages from his accession. But none, however, appears to have attended it; and he who in Cæsar's camp had been esteemed a very considerable officer, seemed to have lost all his credit the moment he went over to Pompey's:

—————*Fortis in armis*

Cæsaris Labienus erat, nunc transfuga vilis.

Hirt. Bel. Gal. viii. 52. Ad Att. viii. 2. Lucan, v. 345.

* Cicero, as has been observed in a former note, has painted the character of Piso in the darkest and most odious colours. But satires and invectives are not generally the most faithful memoirs; and it is evident, from Piso's conduct upon this occasion, that he was by no means what our author represents him in one of his orations, *portentum et pæne funus reipublicæ*; at least if Cæsar's measures were really more unfavourable to liberty than those of Pompey. See Vol. I. p. 40. note.

Rome. My brother and nephew, together with Rufus, affectionately salute you. Farewell.

Minturnæ,* Jan. the 25th.

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 704.]

TO THE SAME.

It well deserves consideration, whether it will be more prudent for you to continue in Rome, or to remove to some secure place within my department; and it is a consideration, my dearest creatures, in which your own judgments must assist mine. What occurs to my present thoughts is this: On the one hand, as you will probably find a safe protection† in Dolabella, your residing in Rome may prove a

* A town in Campania. This letter, in some of the Latin editions, bears date in July, in others no month is specified. But it was undoubtedly written in January; as it appears by a letter to Atticus, that Cicero's wife and daughter came to him at Formiæ on the 2d of February.—*Ad Att.* vii. 18.

† This epistle seems to have been a sort of duplicate of the former; and though it is dated from a different place, it was probably written on the same day, and conveyed by some unexpected opportunity that occurred after he had dispatched the foregoing.

mean of securing our house from being plundered ; should the soldiers be suffered to commit any violences of that kind. But, on the other, when I reflect that all the worthier part of the republic have withdrawn themselves and their families from the city, I am inclined to advise you to follow their example. I must add, likewise, that there are several towns in this canton of Italy under my command, which are particularly in our interest ; as also, that great part of our estate lies in the same district. If therefore you should remove hither, you may not only very frequently be with me, but whenever we shall be obliged to separate, you may be safely lodged at one or other of my farms. However, I am utterly unable to determine, at present, which of these schemes is preferable ; only let me entreat you to observe what steps other ladies of your rank pursue in this conjuncture ; and be cautious, likewise, that you be not prevented from retiring, should it prove your choice. In the mean time, I hope you will maturely deliberate upon this point between yourselves ; and take the opinion also of our friends. At all events, I desire you would direct Philotinus to procure a strong guard to defend our house ; to which request I must add, that you would engage a proper number of regular couriers, in order to give me the satisfaction of hearing from you every day. But, above all, let me

conjure you both to take care of your healths as you wish to preserve mine. Farewell.

Formiæ,* the 25th.

LETTER V.

[A. U. 704.]

TO TIRO.

You will easily judge of our distress, when I tell you, that myself, and every friend of the republic, have abandoned Rome, and even our country, to all the cruel devastations of fire and sword. Our affairs, indeed, are in so desperate a situation, that nothing less than the powerful interposition of some favourable divinity, or some happy turn of chance, can secure us from utter ruin. It has been the perpetual purpose of all my speeches, my votes, and my actions, ever since I returned to Rome, to preserve the public tranquillity. But an invincible rage for war had unaccountably seized not only the enemies, but even those who are esteemed the friends of the commonwealth; and it was in vain I remonstrated, that nothing was more to be dreaded than a civil war. Cæsar, in the mean time, un-

* A maritime city in Campania, not far from Minturnæ, the place from whence the preceding letter is dated.

mindful of his former character and honours, and driven, it should seem, by a sort of phrenzy, has taken possession of Ariminum, Pisaurum, Ancona, and Arretum. In consequence of this, we have all deserted the city; but how prudently, or how heroically, it now avails not to examine.* Thus you see our wretched situation! Cæsar, however, has offered us the following conditions: In the first place, that Pompey shall retire to his government in Spain; in the next, that the army we have raised shall be disbanded, and our garrisons evacuated. Upon these terms he promises to deliver up the farther Gaul into the hands of Domitius, and the nearer into those of Confidius Nonianus, the persons to whom these provinces have been respec-

* So long as Cæsar kept himself within the limits of his province, Pompey treated his designs of invading Italy with the utmost contempt; but Cæsar had no sooner passed the Rubicon, and possessed himself of those several towns mentioned in this letter, than it appeared that Pompey was utterly unprepared to oppose him. Accordingly, he withdrew from Rome into the more southern parts of Italy, with great precipitation, in order, as he pretended, to assemble the troops in those quarters. But his real intention seems to have been to retreat gradually to Brundisium, and from thence to draw the war into Greece. The probable reason of this conduct will be explained in a subsequent note. See Let. 13. of this Book.—*Ad Att.* vii. 8. *Dio.* xli.

tively allotted. He farther engages to resign his right of suing for the consulship in his absence, and is willing to return to Rome in order to appear as a candidate in the regular form.* We have accepted these propositions, provided he withdraws his forces from the several towns above mentioned, that the senate may securely assemble themselves at Rome, in order to pass a decree for that purpose.† If he should think proper to comply with this proposal, there are hopes of peace; not indeed of a very honourable one, as the terms are imposed upon us; yet any thing is preferable to our present circumstances. But if he should refuse to stand to his overtures, we are prepared for an engagement; but an engagement which Cæsar, after having incurred the general odium of retract-

* In the original it is *se præsentem trinundinum petiturum*. Manutius conjectures, from this expression, that it was usual to proclaim the names of the candidates on three market days, at which time the candidates themselves, it is probable, were required to be present.

† The expression in the text is somewhat ambiguous: *ut sine metu de iis conditionibus Roma senatus haberi possit*. But the sense is determined by the following passage in a letter to Atticus, where, speaking of these proposals of Cæsar, and of the terms upon which they were accepted, he adds: *id si fecisset* (sc. Cæsar) *responsum est ad urbem nos redituros esse et rem per senatum confecturos*.—Ad Att. vii. 14.

ing his own conditions, will scarce be able to sustain.* The only difficulty will be to intercept his march to Rome. And this we have a prospect of effecting, as we have raised a very considerable body of troops; and we imagine, that he will scarce venture to advance, lest he should lose the two Gauls; every part of those provinces, excepting only the Transpadani, being utterly averse to him. There are, likewise, six of our legions from Spain, commanded by Afranius and Petreius, and supported by a very powerful body of auxiliaries, that lie in his rear. In short, if he should be so mad as to approach, there is great probability of his being defeated, if we can but preserve Rome from falling into his hands. It has given a very considerable blow to his cause, that Labienus, who had great credit in his army, refused to be an associate with him in his impious enterprize.† This illustrious person has not only deserted Cæsar, but joined himself with us; and it is said, that many others of the same party intend to follow his example.

* The favourable prospect which Cicero gives in this and the following passages of the senate's affairs, is so little consistent with the despondency he expresses in the former part of this letter, that one would be apt to suspect they were two distinct epistles, which some negligent transcriber had blended together.

† See p. 298. note.

I have still under my protection all the coast that extends itself from Formiæ. I did not choose to enter more deeply at present into the opposition against Cæsar, that my exhortations, in order to engage him to an accommodation, might be attended with the greater weight. If war, however, must, after all, be our lot, it will be impossible for me, I perceive, to decline the command of some part of our forces.† To this uneasy reflection, I must add another; my son-in-law Dolabella has taken party with Cæsar.

I was willing to give you this general information of public affairs; but suffer it not, I charge you, to make impressions upon your mind, to the disadvantage of your health. I have strongly recommended you to Aulus Varro, whose disposition to serve you, as well as whose particular friendship to myself, I have thoroughly experienced. I have entreated him to be careful both of your health and of your voyage, and, in a word, to receive you entirely under his protection. I have full confidence that he will comply with my request, as he gave

† This, however, Cicero contrived to avoid; and though, after much hesitation, he followed Pompey into Greece, he would accept of no command in his army, nor was he present at any engagement.

me his promise for that purpose in the most obliging manner.

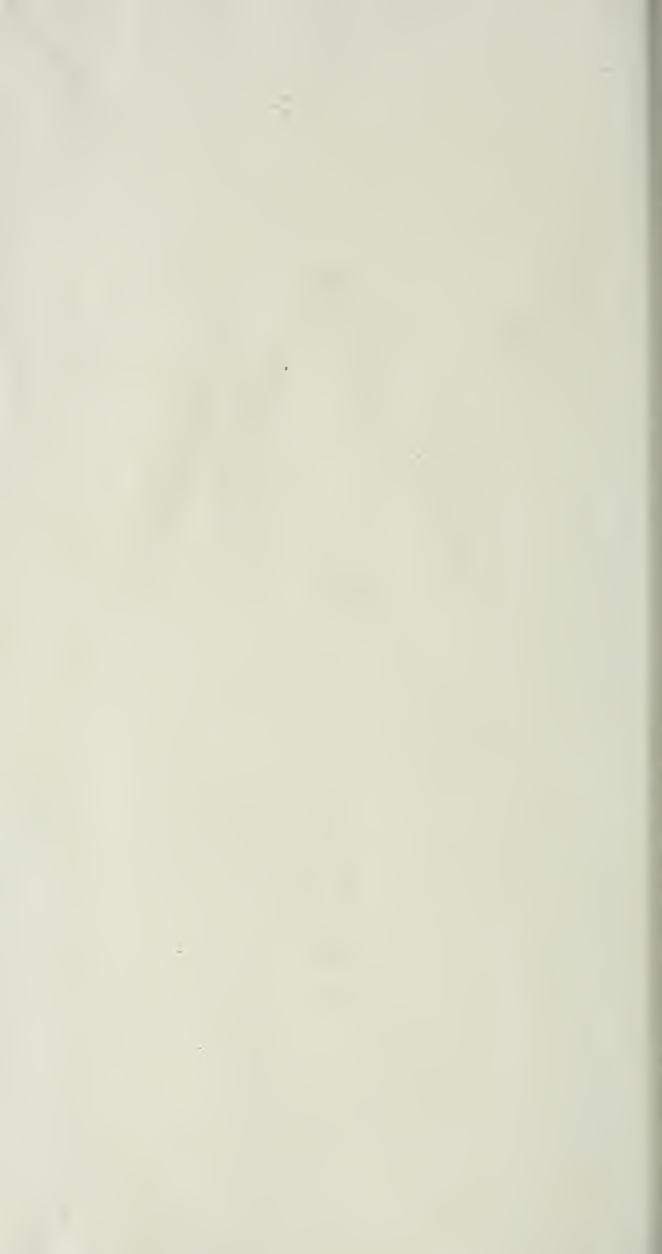
As I could not enjoy the satisfaction of your company at a season when I most wanted your faithful services, I beg you would not now hasten your return, nor undertake your voyage either during the winter, or before you are perfectly recovered. For, be assured, I shall not think I see you too late, if I see you safe and well. I have heard nothing of you since the letter I received by Marcus Volusius; but indeed I do not wonder at it, as I imagine the severity of the winter has likewise prevented my letters from reaching your hands. Take care of yourself, I conjure you, and do not sail till your health and the season shall be favourable. My son is at Formiæ, but Terentia and Tullia are still at Rome. Farewell.

Capua, January the 29th.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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